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Middle East war amid politics of ambiguity

Almost all political action in the Middle East, on all sides, is marked by ambiguity: without this ambiguity the fighting in Lebanon would not have happened the way it has.

Relations between the Arab states and the PLO are typical.

The PLO is recognised neither by Israel nor by the United States as a spokesman for the Palestinians.

In the past this has been used by all Arab states except Egypt as a pretext for steering clear of both peace talks and negotiations with Israel.

The Arab states used the PLO as a means of expressing their hostility toward Israel without running the slightest risk themselves.

For the same reason most Arab states have seen to it that the PLO, despite the presence of many former Palestinians in their territory, has never gained direct influence on their policies or systems of government.

Wherever the PLO sought to do so its leaders and supporters were, as in Jordan, promptly expelled from the country. Saudi Arabia, for instance, has lent the PLO financial backing in return for an assurance that no unrest would be fomented in the kingdom by the Palestinians.

For the other Arab states it was thus an advantage that the PLO settled in Lebanon and made that country its main operational basis for raids on Israel.

Syria alone once departed from the rule by using force against the Palestinians when it invaded Lebanon to stake a claim to be a kind of protecting power.

But it went on to give the PLO a free hand again, which meant that Israel continued to be subject to PLO attacks and raids without other Arab states having to shoulder responsibility.

They were operations for which the PLO alone was to blame.

This was very much apparent, and in a most unsatisfactory manner from the PLO's point of view, when after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon the Arab states at first kept very quiet.

Even once it was clear that fighting could only be expected to come to an end after a withdrawal of PLO armed units from Lebanon or their total destruction there was very little change in the ambiguous attitude taken by the Arab states.

They were most reluctant to consider giving PLO units a new home on their territory. To begin with it even seemed as though they might prefer to look on and see the PLO wiped out militarily.

Israel and the United States could be blamed for that, and the political structure of the PLO might conceivably be retained.

At all events they initially seemed to prefer this prospect to the option of permitting a PLO military presence on their own territory.

Here too Egypt seemed from the outset to be an exception, although previously it had never allowed the PLO to establish itself on Egyptian soil.

It offered to give a PLO government in exile a new home in Cairo. But the Egyptian attitude was governed by an ambiguity of yet another kind.

Cairo insisted, and continues to insist, on its acceptance of the PLO being subject to a solution of the Lebanon conflict including principles for a Middle East settlement in which the PLO was definitely to play a part.

So Egypt while making the most far-reaching offer, made the most far-reaching demands too.

Its obvious intention was to break through its isolation in the Arab world since the Camp David agreement and at the same time to absolve itself of its still unfulfilled obligations by the terms of the agreement.

These commitments included partial responsibility for Palestinian self-government on the West Bank.

But this made the Egyptian position extremely dangerous when it came to an immediate settlement of the Lebanon conflict. It gave the PLO a pretext for delaying its withdrawal.

This in turn was bound to prompt the Israelis to steadily turn the screw and intensify the threat of a military solution.

Israel's position in the Lebanon conflict has likewise been ambiguous. When Israeli troops invaded the country the aim of military operations was said to be the establishment of a security zone 40km deep into Lebanon to prevent future PLO attacks on Galilee.

Was this declaration merely intended to camouflage Israel's true intentions or was it Israel's swift military success that prompted it to extend its operational objectives? No-one yet knows.

At all events the Israel army was suddenly in and around Beirut and the annihilation of PLO forces surrounded in western Beirut seemed to be within Israel's reach.

Then the Israel forces came to an initial halt, offered the PLO an opportunity to withdraw and agreed to a bid to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the Lebanon conflict.

In retrospect one wonders why, if expulsion of the PLO was Israel's foremost objective, the Israelis did not continue their advance while allowing the PLO an escape route.

The number of military casualties might have been higher but there would have been fewer victims among the civilian population.

A negotiated settlement certainly soon proved to be a less than immediate prospect. The Arab states adopted delaying tactics on who was to offer the PLO a new home.

This played into the hands of the PLO, which was pursuing delaying tactics of its own and now wanted to link its withdrawal with political demands.

Israel then renewed its attacks on western Beirut to make it clear it had still not ruled out the military option, and that created a dreadful impression.

It was the impression that both the PLO and the Israelis were using the civilian population of west Beirut as hostages for their respective political purposes.

This reflected worse on Israel than on the PLO, because it was no more than was expected of the latter.

The US role in the Middle East is governed by the fact that it is, on the one hand, Israel's protecting power while, on the other, the Arabs at least expect it to be capable of exercising a moderating influence and persuading Israel to respect the Arabs' legitimate interests.

This is certainly a political constellation from which the United States has derived greater influence in the past than from its military power.

At the outset of the Lebanon conflict the United States limited itself to a mediator's role. To begin with, of course, a mediator must indeed limit himself to

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'Just a quiet little family squabble.'
(Cartoon: Haitzinger/tz München)

More give and take over steel quotas

DIE WELT

The steel crisis compromise reached by the United States and the European Community, a major news agency said, came to grief the day details were announced.

Viewed solely in terms of supply quotas, this is a valid comment. US steelmakers are opposed to the cutback in EEC exports to the American market from 6.3 to 5.756 per cent.

They feel this measure of self-restraint by Common Market steel manufacturers is not enough and have refused to withdraw their anti-dumping proceedings against EEC competitors, which was a prerequisite for agreement.

On steel exports the two sides may now be no further than they were before US Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldridge reached agreement with the two EEC commissioners responsible.

But that is only one side of the story. The other is the political aspect, and despite the US steel industry's "no" it cannot be overlooked.

The fact that agreement has been reached at the political level is a signal.

It is a signal from Europe because the cutback offered by the EEC would have meant European steelmakers exporting 450,000 tons less to the United States even though the European steel industry is suffering from an enormous capacity surplus.

Above all, however, it is a political signal by the United States. Baldridge agreed to the proposal even though he was well aware of the problems the US steel industry currently faces. It too is

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Tough going at disarmament talks under some old but apt words of warning

Nations Must Disarm Or Go Under is written in gilt over the entrance to the chamber in the League of Nations building in Geneva where the UN disarmament committee is back in session.

Few if any of the delegates pays any attention these days to this sterling quotation from Britain's Lord Robert Cecil, the 1937 Nobel peace prize-winner.

After the three-month summer recess they shook hands and got back to the agenda, which is by no means easier than when the conference was adjourned in April.

In the meantime the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament has ended in resounding failure.

Forty states are now on the UN disarmament committee, including all five nuclear powers. It began in 1960 on the initiative of the Americans and the Russians with 10 members.

The number steadily increased to include virtually all militarily important UN members, including both German states, Vietnam and Cuba, Argentina and India.

Israel and South Africa alone have not been allowed to join the ranks.

But productivity has declined as membership has increased. Between 1963 and 1972 agreements were reached on a test ban treaty in the atmosphere, on the exclusively peaceful use of outer space, on demilitarisation of the seabed, on nuclear non-proliferation and a ban on bacteriological weapons.

The conference has since been very busy but failed to achieve much by way of results. At best it can claim responsibility for theoretical preliminaries by experts that may one day make it easier to reach agreement.

For lack of instructions by their governments to tackle specific problems delegations have set up one working party after another the main purpose of which would seem to be boosting paperwork.

This decline of the UN disarmament committee is due in no small measure to the superpowers' policy of negotiating bilaterally on arms control to exclude tiresome supporting players.

Since 1969 the United States and the Soviet Union have negotiated in separate buildings, behind closed doors, on reciprocal limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

Since 1979 they have also been discussing intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

In 1973 the Vienna troop cut talks between Nato and the Warsaw Pact began to discussing mutual balanced force reduction in Central Europe.

That left the Geneva disarmament conference with little but crumbs on which to feed, albeit including a few titbits such as a ban on chemical weapons and an end to nuclear tests of all kinds.

Progress looked as though it might be in the offing on a test ban just before the conference adjourned for its summer recess. Under pressure from the West and the non-aligned countries the Soviet Union agreed to the establishment of a working party to look into methods of verifying a total test ban.

This was felt to be a minor sensation. Moscow had previously refused even to consider international controls in the Soviet Union itself.

In 1976 the Soviet Union made a slight departure from its traditional mistrust in reaching agreement with the United States on the surveillance of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

By the terms of the 1976 agreement mutual inspection is envisaged in certain circumstances. But the provision has never been put into practice and the US Congress even refused to ratify the agreement.

Hopes of further progress in the session that has just begun were dimmed when, at the end of July, the US government announced that it was not going to hold further negotiations on a test ban as long as inspection was not settled to Washington's satisfaction.

So that brought the debate back to Square One, with the chain of arguments having turned full circle.

US Torpedoes Test Ban Talks, *Time* magazine headed its article on the subject. Senator Edward Kennedy announced details of a draft resolution against the goverment's decision. His fellow senator, Gary Hart, criticised it as "unwise and unnecessary."

Western diplomats well-disposed toward the current US administration, however, feel there has been a misunderstanding. President Reagan really intended to upgrade the work of the Geneva conference by deciding to call a halt to talks with Britain and Russia.

The fact is that none of the five nuclear powers is in any hurry to call an end to nuclear tests. Any such move could in the longer term lead to an unwitting degree of nuclear disarmament.

Trials of new nuclear warheads serve not only the purpose of continually improving atomic weapons. Tests must regularly be held to check that existing devices are still in working order.

Fissile material tends to suffer from fatigue when stockpiled for too long, as the Americans discovered after their voluntary test ban from 1959 to 1961.

Many warheads manufactured over this period were found not to function properly.

When America, Britain and Russia agreed in 1963 to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere and under water their ulterior motive was to make it more difficult for France and China to build up a nuclear capacity.

But neither signed the treaty and only the Chinese are still dependent on carrying out nuclear tests in the atmosphere. The others test their devices deep underground, Britain jointly with the United States.

At present the Soviet Union accounts for half the nuclear tests undertaken.

The superpowers in particular are under heavy pressure from the nuclear have-nots to call a halt to atomic tests at least for a few years so as to contain the arms race.

In 1974 the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to dispense with subterranean nuclear tests of devices with an explosive force of more than 150 kilotons.

For purposes of verification long-range seismographic and computer surveillance was considered sufficient, and although the US Congress failed to ratify this agreement too both states have adhered to it in practice.

More powerful nuclear tests are militarily unnecessary. Miniature devices and the nuclear detonators of hydrogen bombs are all that is tested.

Many experts have long felt the argument over test ban surveillance to be mere shadow-boxing. Technically underground nuclear explosions could be detected immediately without difficulty.

The Americans plan to hold separate talks with the Russians on controls this autumn. Moscow has not rejected the proposal. But that is no reason for undue optimism.

Representatives of the have-nots are afraid this is just a manoeuvre to take the entire nuclear test complex out of the UN disarmament committee's hands.

By means of sham negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union a total test ban, as promised for years, could be shelved yet again.

Pierre Simonitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 August 1982)

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comparisons and cautious compromise proposals.

But sooner or later there comes the point at which he has to reach a decision and, having sized up all the arguments, submit proposals of his own on which the success or failure of the mission is to depend.

For the United States this point was reached as soon as it was clear the Israelis would not rule out the military option.

America was bound, even in the face of Israeli opposition, to be keen to ensure that the PLO was given an opportunity of withdrawing from Lebanon.

Its military units could be transferred to other Arab states that would then exercise control over them, and a PLO bereft of its military opportunities would depend on a political role that would be bound to tend toward moderation.

But the Arab countries too must be given to understand that if Washington was still to influence Israel a PLO withdrawal was the only remaining option.

All now depends on whether Washington has succeeded in making this point absolutely clear.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 August 1982)

Informal agenda for Nato foreign ministers

Nato foreign ministers are to meet informally in Montreal at the beginning of October. It will be a chance to discuss their differing points of view on many issues.

The announcement, by Canada's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mark MacGuigan, was welcomed in Bonn.

Bonn noted that the conference was not a crisis session. It had been planned for some time along lines suggested by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

His idea was that informal meetings should be held by Nato foreign ministers in much the same way as EEC foreign ministers regularly confer,

The Montreal meeting was important in view of tension between America and Western Europe, especially in connection with the Soviet gas pipeline contract and US restrictions on steel imports from Europe.

It would also be a chance for the new US Secretary of State, George Shultz, to meet many of his Nato opposite numbers. Herr Genscher is to meet Mr Shultz at the end of September when they are both in New York for an UN General Assembly.

He first suggested confidential gatherings of Nato foreign ministers along Gymnich lines in 1980. Schloss Gymnich, near Bonn, was where EEC foreign ministers first met confidentially, without aides and without a set agenda.

The proposal may not have been put into immediate effect but in December 1980, at Herr Genscher's suggestion, Nato in Brussels held its first super-restricted sessions.

All concerned now feel that sessions along these lines have proved useful.

Herr Genscher brought up the idea of informal gatherings of foreign ministers again in March 1982, first convincing Secretary of State Haig that they would be useful.

They could help to bring about closer coordination between the United States and its European allies, and with it an intensification of the political dimension of the alliance.

Informal consultations, he said, could help partners in Nato to arrive via joint analyses at joint findings, and in view of changes of government in member-states personal consultations fostered continuity.

With backing from the United States and others, including Italy and Norway, he succeeded at the May 1982 Luxembourg meeting of Nato Foreign Ministers in bringing about a decision to introduce meetings of this kind.

It was agreed to make use of the presence of nearly all Nato foreign ministers in New York for the autumn session of the UN General Assembly.

A Canadian invitation to attend a gathering in Montreal at the beginning of October was then accepted.

Discussion then centred on whether the foreign ministers ought not to be accompanied by at least one aide, but Herr Genscher succeeded in gaining agreement that the ministers meet on their own, with only Nato Secretary-General Joseph Luns of Holland otherwise present.

That, it was agreed, was the only way to ensure that deliberations were both confidential and frank.

(Die Welt, 5 August 1982)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Opposition in tangle on its 1984 chancellor choice

The conservative Opposition still does not know how it will choose its chancellor candidate for the 1984 election.

If it comes to power before the next election, the new Chancellor will be chosen by the conservative parliamentary group.

But if it has to make the choice earlier it will have problems. On no other issue is there so much confusion in the ranks.

By making no decision after the last general election, in 1980, it created the danger of a constant tug-of-war. It is a danger that has been realised.

Opposition leader Helmut Kohl suggested that the chancellorship candidate be chosen by a joint CDU/CSU party congress.

But CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss turned this down because he did not want to be outvoted by the larger CDU.

This could perhaps have been overcome by special provisions about the majority.

But the CSU leader's objections go further. Strauss does not want his party to appear as a regional "sub-organisation" of the CDU with special rights to make allowances for the difference in size. No matter what the procedure, it would be almost impossible to wipe out this impression.

The question of how to determine the chancellorship candidate for 1984 remains wide open.

After the last general election, when the opposition failed to pick an opposition leader and chancellorship candidate for the entire period until the next election, it also missed the opportunity to develop a chancellor image in time.

But when the conservatives failed even in the lesser task of coming up with a procedure for the election of the joint candidate, it also created the danger of a constant tug-of-war.

Ever since the Bonn coalition got itself into such poor shape, some conservatives considered the possibility of early elections. But: how to pick a chancellorship candidate?

If the candidate for the next (scheduled or early) general election is chosen by the Bundestag group of the conservatives it can only be done by a party committee, and this can only consist of a small group of leading CDU and CSU politicians.

But the problem is that the CSU does not want to be outvoted.

This obstacle could be overcome because the two parties could agree that — Strauss having been the candidate last time round — the candidacy should now go to a CDU man.

If this were to happen, the decision would have to be made within the CDU.

This party is headed by Kohl who wants to become chancellor and must therefore first be nominated as a candidate.

It is hard to imagine that the CDU would go against his wish and give the candidacy to someone else. Therefore, anybody seeking the candidacy must seek the party chairmanship.

The next CDU party congress in [illegible] at which the new CDU chairman is to be elected, will therefore have a [illegible] agenda.

Kohl wields considerable power at party congresses and has a strong base within the party — especially in south west Germany, in Hesse and in the Rhineland.

His following extends far into northern Germany. But here, Schleswig-Holstein's Prime Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is very strong — and not only in his home state.

In any event, however, Stoltenberg would probably first have to stand for the party chairmanship and take it from there.

The timing of the party congress has a major bearing, and that is determined by the party chairman.

Should Kohl schedule the congress before the Schleswig-Holstein state elections in March 1983, it would be almost impossible for Stoltenberg to stand for the party chairmanship and hence the chancellorship candidacy.

If he did, he would indicate to the Schleswig-Holstein electorate that he does not intend to stick to his prime minister's post in Kiel although he will be campaigning for it. This could naturally greatly damage his chances of being elected. On the other hand, those in the CDU who would like to see him as the candidate expect the outcome of the Schleswig-Holstein election to act as an indicator of Stoltenberg's chances at the next general election.



Helmut Kohl . . . strong power base. (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)



Gerhard Stoltenberg . . . in the race. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Of course, there is a possibility that the CDU congress would look askance at Kohl if he picked a date for the party meeting that would only too obviously be unfavourable for Stoltenberg.

But it is unlikely that the party's disenchantment would go far enough to deny him re-election.

If Kohl decides to schedule the congress after the Schleswig-Holstein elections, the outcome of the elections naturally becomes an important factor.

Should Stoltenberg put up a bad election performance, the anti-Kohl faction for the chancellorship candidacy would weaken or would look for a new candidate, for instance, Herr von Weizsäcker.

On the other hand, should Stoltenberg come out of the election looking good he could press his candidacy at the congress.

But if Kohl were to remain party chairman, only some extraordinary circumstances would provide Stoltenberg with a chance of becoming the candidate, immediately or a bit later.

All this confusion is by no means coincidental. It is due to the fact that there are too many CDU men after the candidacy. And every one of them feels that the longer the uncertainty lasts the greater his chances.

Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 6 August 1982)

Last election just a hiccup in national conservative trend

The trend away from the coalition and towards the conservatives is not just a recent occurrence. It has been evident for years.

In the 1976 general elections, Helmut Kohl, the conservative chancellorship candidate, almost won a majority.

This swing against the Social-Liberal coalition in Bonn was interrupted by the conservatives themselves when they made the mistake four years later of putting up Franz Josef Strauss against Helmut Schmidt.

The coalition victory in the 1980 general elections, and especially the good performance of the FDP, for a short time glossed over a fact that became obvious in subsequent local elections: the CDU/CSU, were making constant gains.

After the 1980 election, Strauss himself — who, though unpopular, is no fool — spoke of a Pyrrhic victory of the Bonn coalition that would bring it little joy.

And indeed, the reputation of the Schmidt-Genscher alliance crumbled rapidly.

Heavy losses in state elections substantiate opinion surveys: if the nation went to the polls tomorrow, the conservatives would easily corner 50 per cent of the vote. The SPD would get around 30 and the FDP around five per cent.

The main loser, the FDP, is losing votes to the Greens, whose popularity now far higher.

The remarkable changes are not only due to the bickering in Bonn over the budget and constant social security contribution increases.

They clearly indicate that German voters are polarising.

A strong conservative middle class that approves of the system as it is emerging on one side. On the other is an alternative counter-society that still presses for change. It ranges from the Greens all the way to the left wings of the SPD and FDP.

But it would be wrong to describe the first group as representative of material values and interests and the second as advocates of "post-material" ideas.

The traditional parties, including conservatives, are beginning to understand that the Greens are a challenge and that adopting some of their ideas also means meeting the wishes of the established parties' voters, who increasingly want to preserve traditional values. That includes preserving the environment.

If the established parties succeed in reconciling market economy requirements and environmental protection, the Greens, whose line of argument is largely non-political and whose concept is therefore not easy to realise will have a tough time.

So far, the Greens have benefited only those whom they least trust to implement environmental protection: the conservatives.

Even if the Greens do not actually help to heave the CDU/CSU into the saddle, developments would nevertheless favour the conservatives.

It was Kurt Biedenkopf who pointed out that social changes must lead to new political majorities.

The material position of the people in this country has greatly improved in the past few years. More and more people *have an ever better education and training*.

But while most voters regard their own position as good, they are also increasingly concerned over general economic developments.

They are therefore looking for politicians who will preserve what has been achieved: the conservatives.

The fact that it is primarily blue collar and skilled workers who are turning their backs on the SPD in favour of the CDU (as shown by local elections) should make the SPD think.

This demonstrates not only a temporary dissatisfaction with the SPD. It shows a spreading of the middle class during economic boom years; and now that the economy is in a crisis, this new middle class longs for economic security.

The much used example of the Swabian skilled worker who becomes a home owner and, having become a landlord, switches his allegiance to the CDU, now applies nation-wide.

The fact that the lower classes have adopted a bourgeois mentality must seem paradoxical to the SPD — if for no other reason because it is the result of its own social policy.

The FDP was also late in recognising the effects of this long-term process.

Since the SPD is dwindling, it can no longer guarantee the FDP a place in government.

And since the Free Democrats turned down Walter Scheel's suggestion (he has always had a good nose for friends) to revert to the CDU as a coalition partner, they are today see-sawing between left and right.

The middle class voters are watching this process with growing mistrust. They respect only those parties that know what they want.

Werner Birkenmaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 July 1982)

■ DEFENCE

Falklands war shows 'Germany is on the right track' with equipment

The war in the Falklands has confirmed that the German navy is being equipped in the right way, says the naval Chief of Staff, Vice-Admiral Ansgar Bethge. He said the Tornado fighter-bomber with its Cormoran missiles was a great danger to enemy surface vessels. "We were right in the way we have equipped our frigates and patrol boats with modern electronics and missiles," he told Wolfgang Höpker of *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt.*

Höpker: Naval power and rule of the sea have for decades been frequently used phrases in Germany. Do they retain their significance following the South Atlantic war?

Ansgar Bethge: We have coined a new terminology in Nato that somewhat reflects the term "rule of the sea" though modern weapons systems with their great range and destructive power put a new light on it. There is, for one thing, the term "sea control", which means the exercising of control over an area that includes the sea and air space. And then there is the term "sea denial", which means denying the enemy the use of the sea for his operations on a limited basis in terms of time and area. In the case of the Falklands conflict, the islands were under Argentine air dominance while Britain had sea superiority. These two sub-components permitted neither party to exercise "sea control" — or, in conventional phraseology, "sea rule". This discrepancy was responsible for the relatively heavy naval losses of the British and the heavy Air Force losses of the Argentines. The land power Argentina confronted the naval power Britain.

Q: Do large surface naval vessels still stand a chance in the face of modern missiles?

A: In my view, it is wrong to base a general judgment on the worth or worthlessness of surface forces on a duel situation as it existed in the Falklands conflict. Take the loss of the *Sheffield.* That vessel had been built as a submarine chaser to be used in the Atlantic. The designers did not consider a threat from the air. And that is what happened in the Falklands war. As a result, the *Sheffield* was inadequately armed. There was also an evidently unfortunate tactical deployment that enabled enemy aircraft to come close to the destroyer and remain undetected.

Q: Isn't an adequate air shield the decisive element in determining success or failure of a naval operation?

A: Yes. A naval war without extensive air and sea observation from the air is barely imaginable today. The British Navy in the Falklands lacked an early warning aircraft that would have kept a check on approaching aircraft and enemy ships. The Argentines were able to use spotter planes and record all British moves, reporting them to the air force. The large carriers which the Americans have, unlike the British, have long-range spotter planes with extremely efficient radar sets and data transmission to the vessel.

Q: So this type of American carrier would be invulnerable due to its protective system?

A: That would be saying too much. Even such a carrier is vulnerable; but there is a large safety margin. It is extremely difficult to approach such a carrier undetected — and this applies not only to surface vessels and aircraft but to submarines as well.

In our sea area in the North German region, we have many airports and land bases from which missiles, surveillance aircraft, spotter planes and fighters can be launched to detect operations of enemy naval forces and start defence operations. The carrier still has its function that cannot be replaced by any other weapons system in large sea areas.

Q: The South Atlantic is outside the Nato area, which is north of the Tropic of Cancer. Is this area division still tenable? If nothing else, doesn't the Cape route, which is vital for the West, call for an inclusion of the South Atlantic in the common defence planning?

A: The restriction is based on political considerations and there is no political reason to change it. If we were to extend the Nato area, we would also have to extend the automatic commitment to assist to other sea areas and bordering land areas to include other nations. That would be no contribution to peace but would in fact increase the danger of a conflict.

Whether the nations that vitally depend on the import of raw materials and oil should not agree on mutual support should transport routes or the exploitation of raw materials in their countries of origin be endangered is another matter. This would be subject to a consultation process but would not entail an automatic commitment to assist.

Q: Did the deployment to the South Atlantic of strong British naval forces weaken the defence of the North Atlantic?

A: Without doubt it weakened the Western presence in the North Atlantic. But only few of the British units in the North Atlantic, the Arctic Ocean and the Norwegian Sea were sent to the South Atlantic. The ships that were deployed there were withdrawn from fleets that were meant to defend the East Atlantic.

I see no *general* weakening of Nato naval presence in the North Atlantic — especially now after the end of the Falklands conflict. Even after their losses, the British still have enough destroyers and frigates ready for action should there be a crisis in the North Atlantic.

Q: What is today's defence position against the Soviet threat from the Arctic Sea and the Baltic?

A: Under certain conditions, Western naval forces are strong enough to exercise control in the areas that are vital for the supply of the European countries should a crisis arise. One question that remains open is whether every enemy submarine in this region can be kept under surveillance should there be a war and whether they can be fought effectively.



Vice-Admiral Bethge . . . a power . . . submarines. (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

Even today, it is still difficult to keep a constant check on submarines. But regarding surface forces, I have no doubt that we can pinpoint enemy vessels and keep them under constant surveillance.

Q: The role of the German navy in the West's naval defences: has the Falklands war changed any attitudes? For instance, concerning the *Bremen* class frigates or the Tornado programme that is to replace the Lockheed Starfighters?

A: No. I must make that absolutely clear. We see ourselves fully confirmed in our planning. The naval fighter-bomber Tornado, which is equipped with Cormoran missiles, represents a great danger to enemy surface vessels. We were right in the way we equipped our frigates and patrol boats with modern electronics and missiles. The Falklands experience has been no reason for us to change our procurement programme. On the contrary: it has confirmed that it is the right one.

Q: What conclusions will the Soviet Union, which kept out of the Falklands war, draw from this conflict?

A: The Soviet fleet kept out of the Falklands conflict; but this was for political reasons. Also, it would have found it very difficult to operate in a sea area so far removed from the home bases. It's hard to say to what extent the Soviets will draw conclusions for their own naval armament from this conflict.

In this case, naval armament is meant in its broadest sense to include reconnaissance, satellites and communications systems. We have the impression that Soviet naval armament is aimed at world-wide operations. The Soviets have satellites, and they are probably in a position to have satellite data transmitted to ships at sea. They are trying to improve this capability now. But I don't believe that they will arrive at an entirely new concept.

Q: Hasn't the war in the South Atlantic had a positive effect by credibly demonstrating the West's deterrence determination?

A: The Soviets were no doubt surprised about the stiff response of the British government. They have certainly noted with respect that Britain was in a position to deploy a considerable naval task force over a large distance and far from its home bases. This is an enormous achievement that is likely to have an impact on the East.

Q: The East-West conflict has increasingly spread to the oceans of the world. What can the German Navy do in this situation?

A: The German naval command can make no direct contribution here.

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LABOUR

Less job security for the ill: appeal rulings tend to back employers

Employees who fall ill now have less job security than before. More are being sacked. And more appeals against dismissal are failing.

Frankfurt judges just brought out the second edition of a book called *Arbeitsgerichtsprotokolle* (Labour Tribunal Proceedings) which tells how the courts act in practice.

They say that workers who are off sick for any length of time frequently get sacked. Sickness is a major feature in about a third of appeals against dismissal.

But the proportion should be less if the rulings of the Federal Labour Court in Kassel were any guide.

In 1980 the Kassel judges, who are the final court of appeal on labour issues, ruled that "for reasons of the sick person's greater need of social protection strict yardsticks should be applied to dismissals of sick workers."

A dismissal was only warranted in such cases when the functioning of the company was seriously hampered.

But staff who feel the Kassel ruling gives them protection are mistaken. Many employers pay scant attention to the greater need of social protection a sick worker is felt to have.

And the employer's view is shared by an increasing number of judges at appeals courts where employers take their cases after the dismissed employee has won the first appeal.

As a rule, anyone who has been off sick for three months or so in the year can in practice forget about his present job and ought to be looking for something new.

The courts often no longer bother to consider whether the illness has led to difficulties at work or affect the functioning of the firm.

One judge at the Frankfurt appeals court is known to view being off work for about 12 per cent of the year as sufficient reason to warrant dismissal.

So lower court judges can hardly be blamed for recommending an out of court settlement in cases where staff have been dismissed on grounds of illness.

It is not just because it means less work for the court, which will then not have to give judgment. It is that it is no longer worth taking the case to a higher court these days.

Frequent absences from work often play a part in another category of dismissals, redundancy because of a decline in orders or the closure of a department.

The courts note time and again, the authors note, that employers tend to dismiss staff who have been off work for longer than the company feels is reasonable.

Once an employer has decided that a worker is next in line for dismissal because he or she is off work sick too often, the reason invariably given for dismissal is that there are not enough orders coming in, which is often enough true at present.

The authors reckon a considerable number of works councillors play along with this line of argument. As one works councillor put it:

"We'll make sure that when dismissals are necessary because of the order position the right ones are made redundant."

With a works council as compliant as this quotation indicates, why should the management worry unduly about who to sack?

Labour court judges have very little leeway in cases of dismissal on grounds of rationalisation or partial shut-downs.

All the company needs to do is to claim that turnover and orders have declined so steeply that the firm will soon be in the red and that staff must be dismissed before the company is no longer running at a profit.

The Federal Labour Court in Kassel has ruled that judges in lower courts are not entitled to check the economic or technical feasibility of management decisions.

All they can do is consider whether a rationalisation measure is "clearly unobjective, unreasonable or arbitrary." Only then can they take action.

So a company that sacks its charladies because it claims it is less expensive to hire contract cleaners need have no fear, certainly none of a German labour court.

The employer usually has the cards stacked well in his favour in other cases of appeal against illegal or unfair dismissals.

"The fact is," the authors write, "that with the law as it stands employees cannot, except in circumstances so uncommon as not to count, possibly get their old job back even if they win their appeal against dismissal."

From the time an appeal is lodged until a judgement is issued by the first court at least six months elapse. If the case is at all complicated it can well take a year.

When the case is taken to a higher court the next ruling will take another year. If an appeal is taken to the Kassel court four to six years can easily elapse before a final judgement is reached.

For all this time the employee will no longer be actually employed by the firm he has taken to court, and even if he has the stamina to take his case from one court to the next he will still have to find a new job in the meantime.

So in the end it will just be a matter of money. Who is going to quit a new job to go back to work for an employer he has only seen at court hearings in recent years?

"Rumour has it," the Frankfurt judges claim, "that the Protection Against Dismissal Act is in practice merely a Redundancy Payments Act.

"The role of the judge in an appeal against dismissal is said to be that of awarding cash consolation in lieu of damages for unfair dismissal."

Offers are made and bargains are struck in many cases before the lower court. The outcome has been probed by sociologists at the Max Planck Institute of Foreign and International Civil Law, Hamburg.

On behalf of the Bonn Labour Ministry they polled 1,057 companies, 740 works councils and 880 sacked workers between October 1978 and September 1980.

They also evaluated 1,393 dismissal appeals before the courts.

In a lengthy report they found that 60 per cent of labour tribunal cases end in an out of court settlement, 14 per cent in a judgment and 19 per cent in withdrawal of the appeal.

These figures are by no means an accurate guide to prospects of success. Only nine per cent of those who appealed actually went back to work for their old firm, and a third of these quit before long.

Besides, despite trade union legal cover only a small proportion of people sacked ever appeal against dismissal.

So the final figure is disheartening. Only 71 of 10,000 workers dismissed in 1978 succeeded in gaining reinstatement by recourse to a labour court.

The percentage would be a little higher if more cases were fought until a ruling was given. By no means all workers needed to have accepted an out of court settlement.

An estimated one in three of those who did would have stood a fair chance of wining the case.

In many cases, the authors conclude, staff are unfairly sacked, but by settling out of court they accept damages in lieu of unfair dismissal.

The benefit of settling out of court, it is invariably said, is that cash is paid on the nail and some, if not all, of the redundancy payment is tax-free.

Employers and even judges often suggest that a firm cash offer is tempting in comparison with a court case that may or may not end well.

In such cases one can only say that the judges are human and not keen on saddling themselves with more work than is absolutely necessary.

"To prepare and carry out a court session at which a settlement is merely confirmed in writing," The Max Planck sociologists say, "labour court judges take exactly 46 minutes less than the three hours they take to draft, dictate and read a judgment."

The number of cases pending is steadily increasing. In the first quarter of this year a third more appeals were lodged in Frankfurt than from January to March 1981.

So considerations of labour and time saving are increasingly important.

Many specialists in labour law say it is high time workers who are unfairly dismissed were effectively entitled to further employment by the company so as to ensure that they don't give up the fight.

The Works Councils Act already includes a provision along these lines for works councillors who are unfairly dismissed.

In occasional instances other employees have also been ruled in continued employment by the company pending the outcome of their appeal.

An airline pilot who is dismissed stands to forfeit his pilot's licence because he can no longer log the hours needed to retain it.

> **'The judges role is . . . handing out cash consolation in lieu of damages.'**

So he will stand a fair chance of having the labour court rule he is still employed by the airline pending the outcome of proceedings.

The same is true of a surgeon, whose qualifications are sure to take a knock if he is unable to keep up with his day-today work.

But the right to continued employment is one that has not yet applied to a railway cleaner or charlady with a large company who have been given the sack.

The fact of life for the small fry is that even if their dismissal was unfair, once they have been sacked they are out on their ears.

Even if they appeal against dismissal only two per cent can ever expect to be reinstated at their old firm.

Provided the works council declares itself to be opposed to the dismissal and does so in the right way and in due time, there may just be a small chance of the labour court approving an injunction ordering the employer to reinstate the dismissed person pending the outcome of proceedings.

Even the wildest optimists among labour law specialists harbour no illusions that Bonn will improve matters in the foreseeable future.

The slightest suggestion of any intention of extending protection from dismissal to include continued employment pending the outcome of an appeal would lead to complaints and massive pressure by the employers.

The only authority that need have no fear of such pressure is the Federal Labour Court in Kassel. It is due to decide at the end of October whether the right to continued employment is to be extended.

The trade unions have great hopes of a favourable decision by the Kassel judges. It would be a great help in combating arbitrary dismissals.

Jürgen Schenk
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1982)

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we are making an indirect contribution by the fact that we would replace the naval forces that the major naval powers would withdraw from the northern flank for the sake of a stronger presence in, say, the Gulf region.

I also believe that we could in a limited way be in a position to close the gaps this would create. Conceivably, this could be done by deploying our new frigates whose modern systems would enable them to cover a considerably wider range.

Q: How far north would such an intervention extend . . . perhaps as far as the latitude of the Norwegian port of Bergen?

A: This cannot be limited in regional terms. It depends on the situation and developments. To start with, we operate on the assumption that the operational area of the new frigates will be the North Sea and parts of the Norwegian Sea.

Q: Is the Baltic Sea outside the operational area of the new frigates?

A: They are not intended for the relatively confined Baltic. That's obvious. Let me say that the different weapons systems of the navy have been designed for both sea areas on the northern flank where defence operations might become necessary.

A deployment outside this sea area would only be considered after consultations with Western governments should a crisis make this necessary.

Wolfgang Höpker
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 6 August 1982)

■ FINANCE

Bundesbank's quarter of a century at the till

The Bundesbank has no intention of using its powers to cover up bad economic policies by Bonn, says Karl Otto Pöhl, the bank's president. He told Christoph Wehnelt and Dietrich Zwätz of the weekly magazine, *Wirtschaftswoche*, that the bank has only limited political influence, and then only on monetary policy. "I don't think we should compete with the government," he said.

Wirtschaftswoche: Mr. Pöhl, wouldn't you have wished to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Bundesbank in less troubled times?

Pöhl: There can be no doubt that the poor economic performance and growing unemployment have made this a particularly trying time for the central bank — not only in this country, but other central banks as well.

Q: And what about the high budgetary deficits?

A: Yes, there is that, and there are still the too high inflation and interest rates that I would naturally — like anybody else — wish to be lower.

Q: It is curious that a central bank president should regret high interest rates. If that's so, you could reduce the rate — at least, that is what everybody says.

A: That's a widespread view: but being widespread doesn't make it right. The central banks' possibilities of determining interest rates are limited because *they must at the same time also keep inflation down.*

A decisive factor that determines our interest rates lies in the fact that Germany is closely tied to international trade and that the deutschemark has become an international currency, one of the major reserve currencies after the dollar.

Q: In other words, the autonomy in determining interest rates has been passed on to foreign countries. But what about internal political autonomy?

A: A certain tension between the Bundesbank and the government is normal. My predecessors also had their problems. Vocke and Blessing had their problems with Adenauer. Klasen had a rather dramatic dispute at the time with super-minister Schiller. And even during the Emminger era it was not all sunshine between Bonn and Frankfurt. Today, too, there are occasional differences of views between Bonn and Frankfurt. But generally we pursue the same aims.

Q: Are these improved relations now due to the fact that you are the first Bundesbank president to come from the political centre of power?

A: Only geographically do I come from the centre of power. I was not a politician but a civil servant. My work as state secretary at the Finance Ministry was uncontroversial politically. I was in charge of international monetary policy and debt management. But the fact that I'm quite familiar with the Bonn machinery has certainly contributed to essentially frictionless relations between the Bundesbank and the Bonn government.

Q: But shouldn't the monetary guardian Pöhl shed his former role of federal debt-maker?

A: The law governing the Bundesbank tells the Bundesbank president and all other members of the Central Banks' Council what they have to do. That is, ensure monetary stability. This being so, there was no need for me to change. All I have to do is abide by the law. But this does not mean that I considered monetary stability less important in my previous post.

Q: Knowing what you know today, do you consider it right that more and more politicians are being channelled into the Central Banks' Council?

A: There are only three former politicians on the Central Banks' Council. But the way I see it, there is nothing that speaks against a former politician being a member of the council if he has the necessary expertise.

There is no such thing as a particular career background for council members. Besides, the council has little influence on the choice of new members. It can present its views; but to all intents and purposes the decision is made by the state government concerned — so far as the state central bank presidents are concerned — or, as in the case of board members, the federal government.

Q: The question you ask is essentially a question as to the democratic legitimacy of the Bundesbank, which has occasionally been questioned. But the Bundesbank naturally has a democratic legitimacy.

Its legitimacy rests in the law. According to the will of the lawmakers, *the Bundesbank is independent of the* government or business interests and of parliament.

Q: The autonomy of the Bundesbank could be endangered if a parliamentary majority in Bonn agreed on it.

A: I'm convinced that the independence of the Bundesbank is now regarded as a constitutional provision and

Wirtschafts Woche

can therefore not be relinquished by a simple parliamentary majority ... quite apart from the fact that this would meet with stiff rejection from the public.

Q: Does the Bundesbank then consider itself a sort of auxiliary economic government?

A: It would be quite wrong to see it this way. We have only limited political influence, and then only on monetary policy — though on this one point our influence can be quite considerable. I don't think we could or should compete with the government.

Q: But the Bundesbank could cause considerable difficulties to Bonn when it comes to financing government deficits.

A: We would certainly not cover up for a wrong fiscal policy with a cloak of lax monetary policy. This being so, the public sector must regard the monetary policy of the Bundesbank as an indicator, just like everybody else ... for instance, the parties to collective bargaining.

Q: Why, then, does the Bundesbank not take on the function of debt manager for the state?

A: It would not be practical for the Bundesbank to take charge of the entire debt management of the public sector or even only of the federal government.



Karl Otto Pöhl ... a little tension is normal. (Photo: Sven Simon)

That could too easily burden us with responsibilities that would conflict with our monetary function.

But the law does stipulate that we have to assume the function of fiscal agent for the public sector. This means, for instance, that the federal government, the states and special funds must maintain their acccounts with us. In addition, we provide cash loans to Bonn, the states and the special funds — loans whose extent is also governed by law. Generally, I would say that the public sector must coordinate its borrowing with us.

Q: But you have no say when it comes to government borrowing?

A: The function of the fiscal agent has been eroded in the past few years by the fact that the public sector has financed an ever larger part of its deficits through notes rather than bonds — and *notes don't require the close coordination the law calls for in the case of bonds.*

Q: But it was you who invented the policy of making full use of such notes.

A: I must admit that this development began during my time in Bonn. But the idea was by no means to evade the Bundesbank. It was simply due to the volume of the necessary borrowing. This could not have been achieved through bonds.

Q: There is one major area where coordination with Bonn certainly does not work: the transfer to Bonn of Bundesbank profits. You want to make this arrangement permanent, though not at the level of DM10bn as in 1982 and as envisaged for 1983 as well.

A: We have, in fact, discussed the possibility of institutionalising these transfers at a lower level with the finance minister ... say DM 4bn or DM5bn, as recommended by the Council of Economic Experts. The finance minister has turned this down.

Q: You could simply have refused, couldn't you?

A: I don't think so. The finance minister had the law on his side. But meanwhile, even we ourselves have become doubtful whether making this arrangement permanent would make sense.

This could easily have entailed the danger that the finance minister could construe a title to a specific amount of Bundesbank money with which to finance his budget — even in times when we might not make a profit.

Q: Is there not in any event the danger that the finance minister might simply become used to the billions coming in from Frankfurt?

A: I am actually worried about the day when the Bundesbank will have no or a very much smaller profit while the fi-

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The historical perspective

The Bundesbank has just celebra its 25th anniversary. The law which it owes its existence came into fect on 1 August 1957. Germany's ce tral bank shows the same restraint as did then.

It still considers itself more tied the tradition of its predecessor, Bank Deutscher Länder, that established on 1 March 1948 by the Military Government Act No. 60 as two-tier central bank system, than to Deutsche Reichsbank.

Bank Deutscher Länder was the condition for the monetary reform June 1948 that put an end to monetary and fiscal policy and repla the reichmark by the deutschemark.

The transition from Bank Deuts Länder to the Bundesbank was smoo despite the two-tier system.

The state central banks (LZBs) rem ned the same; only their names chang slightly. The LZB of North Rhine-We phalia was renamed LZB in Nor Rhine-Westphalia, but organisation the state central banks were demoted Bundesbank branches.

But their presidents still retain the seats and votes (together with the Bun desbank board) in the form of the Cen tral Banks' Council, the most importa decision making body of the Bundes bank.

The Bundesbank president chairs the Central Banks' Council, but has more than one vote when it comes decisions on interest rates and mi mum reserves for commercial bank.

The Bundesbank board now consi of its president (Karl Otto Pöhl), the vice-president (Helmut Schlesinger) and four other members. This means the the Central Banks' Council now con sists of 17 members.

The central bank is independent the government. The depreciation German money between 1923 and 19 was only because politicians had too much say in monetary policy.

Hitler, for instance, changed the banking laws. As a result, the cen bank was allowed to print as much mo ney as it wanted, thus making the ero sion of the currency inevitable.

Germany learned its lesson. It adop ted many elements of the US Fede Reserve Bank system in its own cen bank after 1948.

The Bundesbank (which is also a mo netary bank, a bank of banks and the state's bank) must support the gover ment's economic policy. But as ex-Bun desbank President Otmar Emminge sees it, there can be no question abo it: support is only there when it is feas ble. Even then supporting Bonn econo mic policy must not conflict with the Bundesbank's primary function: gua dianship over monetary stability.

It is not allowed deliberately to sac fice this in favour of other econom objectives such as growth, full employ ment and balancing trade.

Ever since the first deutschemark re valuation in 1961, the Frankfurt gua dians of the currency have never ha any doubt as to their main objecti monetary stability.

Even so, the deutschemark of 1948 now worth only 41 pfennigs.

While average inflation throughou the 1950s was 1.1 per cent, in the 1960 it was 2.4 per cent and in the 1970s per cent.

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 29 July 1

THE ECONOMY

Why the deficit-spending theory goes wrong

Süddeutsche Zeitung

misunderstood Keynesian approach to getting the economy going again is being advocated not only the trade unions and various groups the left to the centre of the SPD.

hole branches of industry have the bandwagon. They all say that the state has to do is borrow money pump it into the economy.

According to the theory, this would in more profit and therefore more from which in turn the government could repay it debts.

This type of deficit spending has repeatedly been used in the past — and in instances with success. The trouble, however, is that the public sector did not go down. It continued to with the consequence that interest remained high, causing chain reac to the detriment of business, ich is now labouring under enormous short-term debts.

Evidently, the approach the Flick oup has been practising for decades financing even stocks on a long-term has not become a general practice.

The incongruous short-term financing many firms and the disappointment over the fact that the rescheduling for in the spring failed to materialise are the writing on the wall that comes evident in business reports for 81/82.

The fact that in these circumstances whole branches of industry, like the construction industry, have joined forces with the trade unions in calling for government booster shots (along with steel industry, which demands smooth subsidies) without caring where the state is to get the money from only proves that, for many, market economy has been debased to lip service.

The understanding of the basic laws the economy are clearly underdeveloped.

The great thinkers of the social market economy concept evidently died out Ludwig Erhard and Professor Müller-Armack.

They were men who implemented idea with a courage that was anything but natural in those post-1948

any event, you would look in vain anybody to come up with an answer the most important question: "Is it to pump billions of borrowed money into companies (like AEG-Telefunken or branches of industry (like steel construction) only to save

AEG or Hoesch or Krupp Steel be allowed to go broke because too jobs depend on them while a company like Bremshey a light manufacturing company with a payroll of 1,300 is allowed to founder?

Jobs in the steel industry are evidently regarded as much more important those in sectors like man-made fibres, plastics, petrochemicals, oil products, electrical consumer goods, textiles, clothing, retailing and the trades.

Cutbacks in such sectors as steel, transport, and in the public sector are much slower processes than in textiles and clothing.

Anybody seriously considering a slimming process in the public services sector will soon be made to change his mind by dustmen willing to go on strike at the drop of a hat.

But the picture would be lopsided without mentioning the works councils. They are on the spot and usually know what is happening. They are not as indoctrinated as the major trade union bureaucracies.

Most of the works council members know very well that the cart can only be moved in cooperation with management.

The works councils demand their price, and layoffs are anything but cheap nowadays.

Severance pay is going up from year to year, and frequently there is not enough money in the till to meet it.

It is due to this willingness by works councils to cooperate and the fact that they think as little of a class struggle today as 30 years ago that Germany's industry is still as strong and healthy as it is.

The works councils who are on the spot know what is happening in a business, they know about orders and profits and they know what has to be done.

There are of course, still successful and profitable businesses.

Some have diversified in time while others have stayed where they have their expertise.

The old adage about the cobbler sticking to his last still holds true with some businesses.

Another successful method is to channel the cash earned in stagnating sectors into those that hold a promise of growth, as in the case of Mannesmann, which switched from making pipes to data processing.

But money is not enough. You must also have expert staff.

Karstadt, for instance, has to pay dearly for its learning process with Neckermann simply because department store experts are not necessarily familiar with the mail-order business.

Another thing that emerges in this season of balance sheets and business reports is that the decisive factor is not always money; it can also be personality. Business, like history, is made by people.

This is reflected in most of the business reports: the times have become tougher and as a result the structures of individual companies and of whole branches of industry are becoming clearer.

It is no longer easy to cover up when things are going wrong, although it is still done often.

Anybody taking the trouble to look behind the scenes, to analyse and compare balance sheets will find this easier today.

But whether this possibility is always made use of, whether works councils, trade unionists, stockholders and bankers have learned from some of the latest case histories — AEG on the one side and Neue Heimat on the other — remains to be seen.

German corporate law still has too many loopholes permitting "legitimate" deception.

Can a state guarantee jobs in an economic system that is essentially free and based on performance and competition? No. It would be overtaxed if it tried to.

All the state can do is to take over as the new owner in cases where private capital withdraws for lack of profits and where that particular branch of industry is essential for the nation's economy as a whole. This includes public transport, coal mining, shipbuilding and — in a couple of years perhaps — the steel industry.

It usually starts with subsidies. But tha state can also take over temporarily.

In 1931/32, the impoverished Reich came to the rescue of the Dresdner Bank as it did in the case of the mining giant Gelsenkirchener Bergwerks-AG and Vereinigte Stahlwerke when Flick was about to sell the controlling interest to France. Both companies were returned to private ownership a few years later.

The same thing should be possible now. In 1968, the mere promise of a state guarantee sufficed to rescue the Krupp concern. The guarantee cost Bonn not a penny.

But such moves must remain the exception, and the fewer of them the better. For the rest, the survival of the fittest must apply.

There are enough examples in the steel industry and in other branches that keep crying for government help to show that there are better ways of going about it.

The troubles of AEG-Telefunken, the steel industry and other companies should not conceal the fact that many of the problems are due to mismanagement.

Not every textiles manufacturer or maker of washing machines or TV sets is operating at a loss because of fierce competition and too many trying to share a small pie.

There are even retailers who still make a sound profit. But such entrepreneurial virtues as industriousness and the willingness to take a risk must not be penalised by the state, which uses the tax revenues from these companies to keep excessive production capacities of obsolete and ailing businesses afloat.

The only major iron and steel company that did not apply for government subsidies this year was Mannesmann. As a company spokesman puts it: "We value our freedom more."

It would be nice if this proud attitude were more widespread in the German business community. *Ernst Berens*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 31 July 1982)

Continued from page 6

nance minister finds himself with a large shortage. It is also possible, under certain circumstances, that transferring profits at the present rate would be irresponsible in terms of monetary considerations.

Q: The spectre of a world-wide economic crisis caused by the collapse of banks comes up time and again. Is the Bundesbank drafting contingency plans to provide swift assistance to banks should there be any liquidity bottlenecks?

A: We're keeping a close watch on developments. But right now I see nothing that would require any special action by the Bundesbank.

Q: Mr Pöhl, we wish you a long time in office. But 25 years from now, when our successor talks to your successor, will that man still be as independent as you are?

A: I surely wish it on him.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 30 July 1982)

Looking at 1983
Source: DIW

	1981	1982	1983
Growth in %	−0.3	+0.5	+2.5
Jobless (millions)	1.27	1.8	1.95
Prices in %	+5.9	+5	+3

The spring sun turns to summer rain

The Institute for the German Economy (IW) says the current stagnation might turn into recession.

In the spring, IW thought there would be 1.5 per cent real growth. It has changed its mind because domestic demand did not pick up in the spring, and thinks unemployment this year will reach a monthly average of two million.

The effects of foreign demand are diminishing. There was a big balance of trade surplus for the first six months of the year, but IW believes that it is unlikely that poor internal demand can be offset by foreign orders.

But IW stresses that the business *financial position is gradually improving. However it will take some time before* the consequences of the low earnings in the past years (and hence the reduced spending power) are overcome.

It should take some time before improved profits lead to more demand for capital goods. A number of well known companies have gone to the wall and the downward trend for interest rates, has not continued.

IW is surprised at the increased rise of consumer prices in the middle of the year. It points to the fact that consumer prices will continue to rise due to higher tobacco tax, energy prices and postage. Only much cheaper seasonal food prices can offset this.

Thanks to the balance of trade, which has profited from the favourable development of the terms of trade, the current account was almost balanced in the first half of 1982, following a deficit of DM15bn in the first half of 1981.

The deficits in such items as travel (which falls under the service industry balance) *will continue to rise, but only a* little.

(Handelsblatt, 28 July 1982)

Continued from page 1

operating at a mere 45 per cent of capacity.

In agreeing to the package Mr. Baldridge has saddled himself with no end of domestic trouble.

Yet he did so, doubtless with backing from the White House, and that is what matters politically.

In reaching this decision the United States has shown that it is not America that wants to intensify the trade dispute with Europe.

Quite the opposite, and that is something that must not be forgotten in the weeks ahead. *Bruno Waltert*

(Die Welt, 9 August 1982)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Party games in a parliamentary democracy: the magic number three

When the Federal Republic of Germany was set up in 1949 and the first elected Bundestag met in Bonn it contained members of nine political parties.

It would have been 10 if the CDU and CSU had not, even in those days, been classified as one party.

With political parties on the brink of double figures pessimists said the stage was set for party-political fragmentation. They were wrong.

The Representation of the People Act was amended before the second general election in 1953 to make life harder for splinter groups, and within a decade the number of parties in the Bundestag was down to three.

Mistakenly, the three-party system has been assumed by some to be, like the capitalist system of free enterprise, an indispensable cornerstone of the constitutional set-up.

The three-party system has been under fire for some time, but no-one has seriously suggested that it is a bugbear of West German politics.

In the mid-70s Franz Josef Strauss started the ball rolling with talk of going nationwide with a fourth party. His Bavarian CSU, he suggested, should stand all over the country.

But what he had in mind was less a change in the political landscape than a threat to the Christian Democrats to make them more compliant to his wishes.

After standing as CDU/CSU candidate for Chancellor in the 1980 general election, which he lost, Herr Strauss abandoned all mention of his fourth-party idea, which seems to indicate that it was merely a tactical ploy.

A fourth party now exists. It is the Greens, or Alternatives, ecological groups represented on many councils and a number of state assemblies.

This is not the place to speculate about the environmentalists' prospects, but let it be said that other parties look like having to bear them in mind for some time.

Unfortunately it looks as though the Greens may before long not be a fourth party but Number Three.

The Free Democrats may well vanish from the political scene, leaving only the Greens alongside the two big boys, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats.

There may be substantial differences between the Greens and the FDP, but structurally the party system would be unchanged, and it could badly do with a change.

The political system has long suffered from the Free Democrats having seen themselves, arguably since the 60s, as no more than a means of ensuring a majority for one or other of the two major parties.

The FDP itself puts the idea across in a slightly more elegant manner by saying that its aim is to prevent either of the two major parties from gaining an absolute majority.

That is six of one and half a dozen of the other. By preventing one party from gaining an absolute majority it is the sole guarantor of a majority for either it or the other.

If it succeeds in this aim for any length of time, as in the 60s and 70s, it will end up more or less permanently in power alongside one party or the other, which is bad for any party.

This objection is levelled less at the FDP than at the three-party system that so many Germans feel is a blessing. In the long term it is anything but.

It is nowhere near a match for the two-party system or a multi-party system, as international comparisons show.

Britain has fared well with the present two-party system for over half a century. Britain's Liberals haven't held the balance of power.

It remains to be seen whether the alliance of Liberals and the Social Democrats will bring about a change. If a general election were held tomorrow the Tories would be returned with an absolute majority.

Most democracies in Europe have a multi-party system, and it has done them no harm. A wider choice of parties may be a slightly less stable system than the two-party pattern, but it is more flexible.

It need not be a drawback for Italy's Christian Democrats to have to collaborate with the Communists in one instance and with the parties of the centre in another. A variety of coalition options can enrich political life.

One result of the two-party system is that political clashes are sure to arise in both parties, but once a decision has been reached the majority party can govern as it sees fit.

In the three-party system the larger of the two coalition parties likewise has to settle disputes in its own ranks, but it cannot then govern as it sees fit.

It must continually bear in mind the views of the smaller coalition party. So the three-party system has only the disadvantages, not the advantages of the two-party system.

That would only not be the case if all three parties were roughly similar in size, but this state of affairs is unlikely to arise in Germany.

Germans in the Federal Republic have been guided all too often in their conscious decisions on the shape political life was to take on memories of the Weimar Republic.

The constitutional provision for referendums was misused in the Weimar period, so Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, dispensed with referendum altogether.

After the First World War party-political fragmentation was a problem, so there is still a widespread mistrust of a multi-party system.

Yet the electoral law as it stands most effective at forestalling the e[...] gence of splinter groups.

If there are to be more political [...] ties to the benefit of political life, [...] is needed is not an amendment to [...] Representation of the People Act b[...] different attitude on the part of [...] electorate.

There are already signs that attitu[...] are changing. Where the three-p[...] system eventually leads is readily ap[...] rent from the state of the coalition p[...] tics in Bonn today.

The Free Democrats have forfe[...] their political profile because in [...] contrating on ensuring majorities [...] others they have limited themselves [...] tirely to tactics.

The Social Democrats are being [...] sumed by international malaise m[...] ing from them being unable to pr[...] policies of their own even if they [...] able to work out their internal d[...] putes and make up their colle[...] mind.

The Christian Democrats would be [...] much the same position of they w[...] in joint harness with the FDP.

The CDU/CSU could emerge w[...] an absolute majority next time. T[...] possibility, which at present seems d[...] tinctly feasible, would not solve [...] problem; it would merely shelve it u[...] the next election.

A two-party system is improbable [...] this country. What we need is a wi[...] choice of parties. A mere three parti[...] are no longer enough.

Tilmann [...]

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 29 July 1982)

The changing demands on the coalition

There are three reasons for the coalition merry-go-round in Bonn. They have nothing to do with personalities or the relations between senior politicians, as most of the media like to tell their readers.

The three are:

- The change in political issues
- Sensitivity in relation to power politics
- The increasingly brutal nature of political style.

They are what have really accounted for all the SPD/FDP coalition difficulties since the 1980 general election.

And they prove on closer scrutiny to have been virtually inevitable.

The first is the change in political issues.

When the coalition came to power in 1969 it entered a new era in the wake of the conceptional dessication of post-war politics and an evident social rigidification.

The main aims were social modernisation, mainly extending the welfare state, and reconciliation with the East.

Both issues, which were characteristic of the 1969 Social and Free Democratic consensus, gave the coalition an almost philosophical aura of a historic alliance.

This has all changed. The desire for extension of the welfare state has been replaced by worries about how to finance the welfare burden, a sensitivity toward personal responsibility and consideration for the hard-hit labour market.

As for reconciliation with the East, it seems to have been accomplished. German politics has thrown historical ballast over board and signed treaties with all the Warsaw Pact states.

People nowadays are more worried about the political position and the political role of the West. Given so many domestic disputes, can Nato state its case more convincingly and prove more clearly that it is capable of backing up words with action?

The basic tenor of social worries has shifted and is no longer in tune with the Social and Free Democratic philosophy. Safeguarding economic potential and Western democratic stability have come to the fore.

Thus the fundmental features of political culture no longer provide further impetus toward a Social and Free Democratic consensus.

The second may be termed sensitivity in relation to power politics.

Political parties are large-scale organisations geared to success. Their morale is governed not just by their manifesto but by the degree of electoral support they enjoy.

The history of the Federal Republic of Germany has shown time and again how keenly parties sense new issues and adjust to new social currents.

The FDP is particularly sensitive and quick to respond to such changes. For it the problem is not one of forfeiting a per cent or two of public support. For the Free Democrats it can easily be a matter of life or death.

The FDP has in the past always developed its specific strength as a variation on the views of a larger partner in power.

If it were to forfeit this role, say because the Greens gained in strength and it were no longer capable of ensuring a majority for its coalition partner, the FDP's very survival would be at stake.

There seems to be a change of co[...] in the SPD too. Many of its voters ha[...] switched allegiance to the Greens a[...] Alternatives. The Social Democrats r[...] a risk of having to rely on their tradi[...] nal voters again.

So the coalition's power base is fr[...] ing at the edge on two sides.

The FDP must be afraid of being [...] placed by the Greens and Alterna[...] as guarantor of a majority. Its best p[...] spect of reducing support for the e[...] ronmentalists would be for the SPD [...] go into opposition.

Left-wingers would then close r[...] in the SPD, which would stand a ch[...] ce of regeneration by gaining new bl[...] from the Greens — even if it meant [...] ing into opposition for a while.

The third is the increasingly br[...] nature of political style.

Events in Bonn of late call to m[...] past government crises, such as [...] change-over from Adenauer to Erh[...] in 1963 and the advent of the Gr[...] Coalition in 1966.

Then as now there was increasing [...] ticism of the Chancellor from the r[...] of his own party.

Then as now there were hesitant st[...] in the direction of a reorientation [...] companied by hasty avowals of loy[...] to existing alignments.

Then as now there was a growing [...] clination on the Chancellor's part [...] make use of his formal means of e[...] cising power, such as Cabinet reshu[...] and votes of confidence.

The combined effect of all th[...] trends is an increasing brutalisation [...] political style.

Opinion polls indicate that peo[...] are increasingly conscious of living [...] an era of transition and change.

Werner Weidenfe[...]

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 26 July [...])

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

No one knows exactly why the trees keep dying

Frankfurter Rundschau

[...]here are various theories about why [...] so many trees in Germany are dy[...]g. But none are proved.

One of the best-known theories is [...] of acid rain from industrial fallout. [...]ther is that years of bad rainfall [...] badly hit the fine roots in forest [...].

Another school has it that a biological imbalance has been created by blan[...] planting of conifers. This is said to [...] harmed the small organisms that [...] in the humus and upset the balance [...] the mineral soils deeper down.

Changes in the water table and [...]und profile and the effects of wild [...]imals figure in other ideas.

In 1980 in Baden-Württemberg [...]000 hectares of fir trees were reported to be seriously damaged and a fur[...]er 32,000 hectares slightly damaged. The total area makes up 4.1 per cent [of] Baden-Württemberg's forest acreage.

In Bavaria, 16,000 hectares of fir trees [are] reported to be in poor condition.

Spruce trees are widely reported to be [in] serious trouble all over the country, [bu]t a Ministry survey does not report [...] as having died.

[...]en Seeliger, conservation officer [of] the Coal-Mining Industry Associa[tion], wonders whether there is any gap [in] time between the latest figures available and reports of trees dying over large [are]as of woodland and forest.

If there is a time lag then either the [dam]age has spread like wildfire or the [...] probes will be the first to docu[m]ent the full extent of the damage.

[...] Ertl, Bonn Agriculture Minister, [...] outlined to the Bundestag one of [the] better-known theories. Acid rain af[fec]ted first the soil and then the trees.

The culprits were polluters of the at[mo]sphere who release sulphur dioxide [in]to the air by burning oil or coal and [...] treating the exhaust fumes.

Sulphur dioxide, a gas, dissolves in [...] and is converted by oxydation into [sul]phuric acid.

The pH count in rain water then falls [be]low the natural level, 5.6, a level attri[bu]table to carbonic acid in the atmos[ph]ere.

Acid rainfall dissolves the aluminium [in] the soil, releasing ions, electrically [char]ged particles that even in minute [con]centration have a toxic effect on the [roo]ts of trees.

[Gö]ttingen soil specialist Bernhard [Ul]rich is one of the scientists who first [ca]me up with the acid rain theory. He [ma]de a name for himself with surveys [of] the Solling area, north-west of Göt[tin]gen, in 1966 and 1973.

He feels aluminium ions damage the [...] roots, leading to the creation of im[pedi]ments in the tree trunk that block [the] passage of water and nutrient.

The trees suffer from both hunger [an]d thirst, as it were, turn brown and [...]ly die.

But this theory is not universally ac[cep]ted. Karl-Eugen Rehfüss of Munich [fore]st research institute has come to a [dif]ferent conclusion.

The increasing acidification of the [Sol]ling area observed by Ulrich did not, he says, continue between 1973 and 1980 even though acid rainfall is sure to have continued.

In 1980, he claims, the acid count in the area even began to fall, and his analyses of soil, inner bark and roots failed to indicate aluminium or manganese poisoning.

Fir trees were also found to be dying on shell limestone slopes where the soil is capable of converting surplus acid into harmless compounds.

The acid rain theory works on the assumption that motor vehicles, power stations, heating and other exhaust sources release a constant flow of sulphur dioxide.

This sulphur dioxide, together with nitrous oxides, is felt to be steadily poisoning Europe's forests.

But other scientists feel the cause is closer at hand and more natural. The likelihood is, says Herr Rehfüss, that years of low rainfall have badly hit the fine roots in forest soil.

Hans Leibundgut of Zurich University of Technology says spruces, with their flat lateral roots, are bound to be particularly hard-hit by lengthier spells of drought.

The dead roots are an ideal breeding ground for root fungi that often take years to do their worst.

Günther Zimmermayer of the Coal-Mining Industry Association feels that the current epidemic of tree deaths could be the result of the 1976 drought.

But the case, although made, has yet to be proved. Scientifically acknowledged evidence is not available, let alone proof.

Forest ecologists have come up with yet another idea that could well be a serious contender. They claim forests are grown wrongly, unbiologically.

Large areas of forest acreage are spruce, a single-crop economy and the bread-and-butter of forestry, accounting for over 40 per cent of the total.

A number of botanists say this results in a biological imbalance. Blanket growth of conifers is said to be harmful to the micro-organisms that live in the humus. It also upsets the balance in the mineral soil lower down.

Heat, light and fine rainfall are vital commodities that fail to penetrate the foliage of fir trees. They seldom reach the soil.

Seepage water and humic acid in the soil are felt, so this theory goes, to wash out the important nutrient salts and trace elements, slowly but surely.

Here too the case has yet to be proved conclusively and scientifically. Other suggestions are that the water cycle has been upset by a fall in the water table or changes in ground profile or a combination of the two.

Mechanical felling may also be to blame, with heavy modern machinery damaging the soil and the bark of surrounding trees. Forestry biologists attribute a fair amount of damage to wild animals nibbling away at young trees too.

All told, however, the only point on which there is any clarity is that no-one knows for sure just what is to blame.

The mysterious killer has yet to be identified even though tree deaths are nothing new. They have occurred in waves, inexplicably, alarmingly, over the decades.

Spokesmen for the mining industry say the time has come to make a thorough scientific study of the phenomenon. But even they are not expecting findings to come to light much before the end of the decade.

The industry naturally objects to accusations that coal-fired power stations are mainly to blame by acidifying fog and rain, resulting in the death of plants, trees and, in the final analysis, animals.

It says the proportion of sulphur-

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Illness of the forests

Soft plastic rings are used to drain off water for testing to see what is damaging these trees in an experiment in the Ruhr. (Photo: Heinz Jürgen Kurtenberg)

Nuclear station heat boosts farm yields

Piped heat from Gundremmingen nuclear power station has been harnessed to boost crop yields on neighbouring farmland. Four-year trials have been successful.

Process heat is used in an environmentally unimpeachable manner, being piped as hot water round six hectares of fields.

Maize and potato yields have increased substantially, says the Bavarian soil and plant research institute, but grain yields have, at times, declined.

The agricultural benefit is said to be less important in the long term than the environmental gain. Waste heat can be put to good use in the soil.

Power station cooling towers, which are an undeniable environmental risk, might in future be unnecessary, claims a spokesman for August Thyssen AG, the company in charge of the Agrotherm project.

The Gundremmingen venture has been backed by the Bonn Research Ministry. The idea behind it could certainly prove an alternative to dry cooling towers as a means of handling the surplus heat from nuclear power stations.

Dry cooling towers are said no longer to emit clouds of steam, but they would be less efficient than the conventional variety.

Harnessing process heat for farm use would not only boost crop yields; it would also relieve the burden on the fuel cycle. But the Agrotherm concept is expensive.

For a power station of Gundremmingen's size, 1,300 megawatts, heat would need to be piped to between 6,000 and 8,000 hectares of land. That would cost about DM500m.

So officials at the Bavarian Ministry of Environmental Affairs are doubtful whether the system would prove economic enough to be put to large-scale use either in the short or the long term.

It seems very unlikely that power stations will ever be able to dispense entirely with wet cooling towers.

But the Gundremmingen experiment has on average resulted in 13-per-cent higher crop yields.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 24 July 1982)

■ FISHING

Sole jolted out of seabed complacency by electric current treatment



Experiments with electricity as a means of catching North Sea sole have been so successful that commercial trials are to be launched this year.

Electric current is used to make flat-fish scurry from the seabed up into the nets that follow in the wake of the electrodes.

Using this technique a department of the Federal Fishery Research Institute, Hamburg, has boosted catched fourfold and reduced damage to the marine environment.

Flat-fish (they include plaice, dab and sole, which is the most valuable catch in the North Sea) are normally caught using trawl nets, one on either side of the cutter, that reach down to the seabed.

The fish are excited by the trawls, which drag the seabed, uprooting molluscs and seaweed and destroying their seabed habitat for a long time to come.

Flat-fish would normally rest on the seabed or flap around close to it, but the disturbance makes them scurry off into the fishermen's nets.

In recent years this destruction of the seabed has been intensified by Dutch trawlers in particular using iron chains to drive the fish into the nets more effectively.

At the same time the wreak even more havoc on the seabed trawled. These chains can weigh up to two tons per net, and trawlers with more powerful engines travel faster and faster to boost catches.

Dutch cutters have started trawling the sole fishing grounds in the EEC Sea off the West German North Sea coast at speeds of up to six knots, using 2,500hp engines.

The damage to the marine environment is matched only by the depletion of sole stocks. These chain nets catch many young fish.

Sole less than 27cm long, for instance, are deemed to be young fish. Catching them is illegal. Using this equipment it is also inevitable.

In order to comply with regulations, young fish are thrown back overboard, but only a few survive the ordeal. With electricity, fewer small fish are caught.

Professor Steinberg of the Fishery Research Institute has spent years looking into ways of improving flat-fish trawling methods by using electricity.

Electric power is already used in this way in fresh water fishery. He and his staff now seem to have succeeded in harnessing it for use at sea too.

Electricity can be used to send fish scurrying at long range and to attract them at short range. It may also be used selectively.

The larger the fish, the greater the effect. Tension increases in relation to the length of fish.

It is also used to chase fish away from dangerous weirs and points where water is pumped out of a river or lake.

It can even be used to make a clean sweep of sections of river or waterway where there are too many commercially valueless whitefish.

Using electricity at sea is much more difficult because sea water contains salt and much of the voltage is lost. So tricks such as successive but individual electric shocks are used to heighten the effect.

Short, sharp shocks have the same effect as non-stop current, but the energy consumption is much lower. This method was developed in the 50s for use at sea by Dr Kreutzer.

He constructed enormous trawl nets into which fish were to be driven or attracted by the use of electrodes.

His experiments never really succeeded because they used too much power, there was too much interference and the effect on fish varied.

It varied in accordance with the conductivity of sea water at different temperatures and in different areas with different degrees of salinity.

Even attempts to use electricity on a smaller scale in fishing for tuna (the fish were electrified as soon as they snapped at the bait) failed to be of use in sea fishing.

Success seems finally to have come to a Hamburg engineer, W. Horn, a former colleague of Dr Kreutzer's, at the Fishery Research Institute.

Laboratory experiments first showed that electric current was best put to use in very short, sharp shocks to send flat-fish rushing from their seabed cover.

The pattern of impulses and intervals between shocks also proved extremely important for the success or failure of putting flat-fish to flight.

If the right pattern and voltage were used, selective fishing proved possible. Only larger sole or plaice would be sent scurrying. Smaller fish would stay where they were.

Seagoing equipment was then designed and built, with financial backing from the Bonn Research Ministry, by a Hamburg company, Impulsphysik.

It was put through its paces for several years before full-scale trials were undertaken by the research vessel, the *Solea*.

The equipment uses a lightweight chain of electrodes with inlaid strands of copper. The electrode chain, like its iron counterpart, is suspended in front of the trawl net.

During trials a conventional trawl net was used on one side of the cutter and an electric one on the other.

In 15 hauls the sole catch on the conventionally equipped side was 6[illegible] while on the electric side it was 244[illegible] or roughly four times as much.

Converted into hours of trawling the ratio was 3.4kg per hour in the one case and 12.8kg in the other.

Using the conventional net piles of seabed sediment, worms, molluscs, seaweed and dirt were hauled aboard. The electric net yielded a clean catch.

It was so clean that research scientists first thought the experiment had failed because the net seemed empty, whereas the conventional net contains hundredweights of ballat from which the damaged sole had to be extricated.

Electric sea fishing seems this time to have succeeded. It can even save energy. Using an electric net trawling speed of three and a half knots is sufficient to ensure a satisfactory catch.

But the new technique cannot yet be used to boost sole catches, or only indirectly. Sole is the most highly valued North Sea catch, and catches are limited by quota in the European Community.

The new technique protects the seabed habitat and young fish, so with time sole stocks will be replenished and quotas can be increased.

This presupposes that the heavy chains of the big boys and speed kings do not completely destroy the flat-fish habitat and the organisms on which they feed.

Smaller fish, both sole and other flat-fish, will have time to grow to full size if the electric technique is widely used.

The next step for fishery research scientists will be to equip a commercial cutter with electric trawl nets this autumn.

They will then keep a scientific eye on how the technique fares in commercial practice.

Harald Steinert

(Der Tagesspiegel, 31 July 1982)

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dioxide output for which coal-fired power stations are responsible has remained constant at roughly 20 per cent since 1974, when they began extracting sulphur from the exhaust fumes that went up in smoke.

About 45 per cent of sulphur dioxide fallout comes from abroad and the remaining 35 per cent is accounted for by industry and tradesmen, transport and households.

Power utilities account for a mere 10 per cent of the total, even, with a further 10 per cent being the handiwork of Mother Nature.

By 1990 half the country's coal-fired power stations, with an estimated total installed capacity of 29,500 megawatts, will have been modernised.

They will then release only half their present amount of sulphur dioxide into the atmosphere, it is said in Essen.

This would mean the total output would have declined from 4.2m tons in 1970 to 3.6m tons in 1980 and about 2.8m tons in 1990.

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1982)

Scientists beat contaminated krill problem

Fishing for krill has been given the all-clear after worries that fluorine contamination could make the fish unfit for human consumption.

Now researchers have discovered that the fluorine is in the shell. It starts seeping into the flesh about an hour after being landed.

That means they must be shelled as soon as they are caught.

The findings, after a two-year survey by the Fishery Research Institute, Hamburg, have sent a sigh of relief round the Ministries of Agriculture and Research in Bonn.

Bonn has invested DM30 million in krill, the Antarctic shrimp so rich in protein that it is the staple diet of the whale.

The Antarctic shrimp is between 3.5 and six centimetres long but stocks are enormous. An estimated one billion tons are in marine cold storage, as it were.

They make up the world's last great untapped protein reserve and might, it was hoped, one day solve the problem of feeding mankind.

They were also to be a new and lucrative catch for the German fishing fleet, whose customary fishing grounds have shrunk by the year as territorial seas and economic zones have been extended.

There are no such restrictions in the waters where the krill shoals live. Krill recipes have been devised and the shrimp has been declared a delicacy.

Then came the cold shower. Routine checks revealed that krill are highly fluorine-contaminated. Their fluorine count is 24 times higher than the maximum permitted by the US Department of Agriculture.

"If you eat krill once every three days you will develop stains on your teeth, scientists said. Half a pound a day would be enough to cause calcification and bone damage.

What this meant was that krill could at best be used as fodder.

Hamburg scientists soon discovered that the fluorine could easily be washed out of krill mash, but the technique was expensive.

Besides, after being broken up into mash the krill could not be used for much more than fish fritters.

Further research proved well worth while. "We have now arrived at a much more satisfactory assessment," says foodstuffs chemist Professor Wolfgang Schreiber.

"The krill," he explains, "accumulates fluorine, which occurs naturally in the sea, only in its shell. Why it does so we don't yet know."

But the fluorine does not pass from the shell to the meat until the shrimp is dead, so if krill are shelled as soon as possible after being caught the problem can be solved.

The fluorine starts seeping from the shell into the meat about an hour after capture.

This gives rise to a fresh problem. The krill can thus only be put to use with the aid of factory ships that shell it as soon as it is caught.

Shelling machines exist that can shell them without damage to the meat, but their capacity is limited and they cannot process large catches fast enough.

Besides, using expensive factory ships will only pay if they can be sent straight to grounds where bumper catches can be guaranteed.

So the Hamburg scientists have applied to Bonn for A DM4m grant toward a fresh Antarctic expedition. They plan to take part in an international venture in which scientists from [illegible] countries are to participate in winter 1983.

Each country is to scour specific sectors of the Antarctic to locate areas rich in krill. Findings should lay the groundwork for economic deployment of factory ships.

Horst Zimmermann

(Bremer Nachrichten, 28 July 1982)

■ OPERA

Friedrich's production of Parsifal throws open the curtains to Bayreuth 1982

Parsifal, Wagner's last opera, has seldom featured in a new production at the annual Bayreuth festival.

Wagner himself ruled that Parsifal was only to be performed in Bayreuth, and after his death no-one dared make changes to Wagner's own 1882 production.

His widow Cosima succeeded in retaining the 1882 production nearly unchanged for over 50 years, until 1934.

Wieland Wagner, the elder of the composer's two grandsons, first produced Parsifal in 1937. In 1951, in the first post-war Wagner season, he came up with a fresh version that prompted worldwide debate among Wagner-lovers.

This memorable version was retained in the festival programme for several years after Wieland's death and not replaced by a new production until 1975.

The 1975 production was by Wolfgang Wagner, the present manager of the Bayreuth festival season. The 1982 centenary Parsifal was entrusted to director Götz Friedrich.

Friedrich has 10 years' experience of Bayreuth. He is currently general manager of West Berlin's Deutsche Oper. Many were looking forward to his version of the opera.

Friedrich's production of Wagner's swansong was the opening performance of this year's Bayreuth season. The first night, a full house, was attended by many leading politicians and representatives of the arts and the business community.

He last directed Parsifal in Stuttgart in 1977. This time, together with his set and costume designer Andreas Reinhardt, he delved deeper into Gurnemanz' words to Parsifal: *Du siehst, mein Sohn, zum Raum wird hier die Zeit* (You see, my son, time here turns into space).

Their aim was less to bring the opera up to date than to highlight changes in intellectual background between the days of, say, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Richard Wagner and the present.

Andreas Reinhardt's stage for the new Bayreuth Parsifal were a change in conveying the world of the Holy Grail as increasingly petrified but existent.

The Third Act, far away from the Good Friday meadow, is transposed to a landscape of ruins in which men and women (the flower girls in civilian clothes are among their number) hail salvation chorally as a communal experience.

The change of scene to the castle of the Holy Grail in the first and third acts dispenses with the Last Supper scene in the usual circular arrangement.

Friedrich and Reinhardt give us an enclosed, wonderfully illuminated casting of the Holy Grail with a variety of galleries on either side for the choir of knights.

It is a most convincing historical arrangement that, sad to say, does not carry equal conviction in the Third Act with the transition to modernity.

Friedrich sets great store on discreet, realistic performances of religious rites, such as the Last Supper or communion, the washing of feet and the christening.

He incorporates them in the action without the slightest trace of theatrical awkwardness and succeeds in striking a balance in the "mysterious relationships" between the individual acts.

He even manages to strike a balance between self-denial and eroticism, the twin clues of thread that run right through the opera.

His Second Act is fascinating with its technologically advanced magic tower in which Klingsor holds sway wearing a devilish mask and using bright searchlights and smoke bombs.

After the flower girl scene, which stays seductive and is not reduced to the level of vaudeville eroticism, after the sensually sung and played duet between Kundry and Parsifal and the throwing of the spear, Klingsor's might ends with the illusion of a marvellously produced destructive explosion.

Reinhardt, the set designer, was a newcomer to Bayreuth. So was the musical director, James Levine, the 38-year-old musical head of the Metropolitan Opera, New York.

Levine has in the past made a name for himself mainly as a Mozart and Mahler conductor in Salzburg. He proved surprisingly quick on the uptake in dealing with the acoustical problems presented by the covered orchestra stalls at Bayreuth.

His work with the finely attuned festival orchestra and the magnificent sound of the festival choir, directed by Norbert Balatsch, increasingly delighted his first-night audience.

The only shortcoming was that Levine went a little too far in his slow tempi. This somewhat marred the tension of the prelude in particular and the dramatic flow of the entire Third Act.

But what a marvellous performance it was in other respects! Levine has a wonderful way of blending and toning down the instruments to allow vocal parts to come into their own.

His overall orchestral sound is constantly compelling, with suspended timbres that flow into one another in a manner typical of Parsifal.

Levine gears everything to the musical and thematic situation of individual scenes, and his development testified to being well thought-out.

After having showed such a keen sense of feeling for Wagner's final opera he did not deserve the few catcalls he was given when the curtain fell.

Neither did Götz Friedrich, who was mainly responsible for the first night of the 1982 Bayreuth season carrying such conviction with the festival public.

That it did so was readily apparent from the tempestuous applause after Acts Two and Three.

All the soloists were given a good hand too. Peter Hofmann as Parsifal, in a performance of which concentration was the keynote, provided both the power of the heroic tenor and the vocal mobolity of the lyrical.

Leonie Rysanek, with the demonic dark timbre of her soprano, achieved a striking intensity of Wagnerian word melody as Kundry in the great narration and the duet of the Second Act.

But the greatest surprise as a soloist was Simon Estes as Amfortas, with his commanding baritone volume and his pain-filled power of expression right to the ecstasy of the final scene.

Hans Sotin with his big, word-dominated bass achieved the best conceivable effect as Gurnemanz, and as for Klingsor's magic, who could make it sound blacker with his bass than Franz Mazura?

Matti Salminen gave Titurel's short but powerful appeals the fitting sense of immediacy, and a special word of praise must be given to the unusually light and pure sound of the flower girls.

Last but not least, the impact and intensity of the Bayreuth festival choir will with difficulty be exceeded by an operatic choir anywhere.

Erich Limmert

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 27 July 1982)

Film Version pales beside the real thing

When someone has a gigantic model of Wagner's skull made up and clad in 40 tons of concrete so actors can walk round it as a film set, he can only be a somewhat off-centre Wagner-lover.

All Hans-Jürgen Syberberg's past films, about Karl May, Adolf Hitler, Ludwig II of Bavaria and Winifred Wagner, have dealt with the composer's Bayreuth.

So it was hardly surprising that his latest screen venture was to deal directly with Richard Wagner.

And since Syberberg, Wagner's film apostle, is a fan in the sense of fanatic, his imagination seemed sure to give rise to a pathos-steeped screen monster.

It is entitled Parsifal and intended as a tribute to the centenary of the opera's first production in Bayreuth.

The director would have preferred to hold the first performance of his screen epic in the Festspielhaus rather than in a mere cinema, as he noted uneasily at the premiere.

An ordinary film might arguably be best screened in a cinema, but a commemorative work needs to be shown in a memorial.

Syberberg arranged for an unusual presentation of his film on the fringe of the Cannes film festival and for an extravagant showing at Documenta, the Kassel art show.

But his Parsifal was to be seen at its most spectacular in Wagner's own Bayreuth in a screen showing that was to dwarf the hill on which the Festspielhaus stands.

When it came to intellectual proportions, the ratio was arguably altogether different. He invited international critics to attend his ceremony on the morning of the Parsifal first night at the Festspielhaus.

The publicity machine made great play with the Parsifal-like marathon of four and a half hours of film followed by six and a half hours of the opera.

For this writer it wasn't too much of a strain because the film didn't amount to much. Neither the pleasure nor the provocation was a strain.

For a Wagner-lover Syberberg had nothing more to offer than an appetiser in preparation for the more sumptuous banquet of a Bayreuth first night.

It is none too easy to steal the show from a stage director such as Götz Friedrich. I fail to see how the two productions bear comparison.

What particularly struck me was that the screen version conveyed a staler backstage impression than the actual opera.

This is the point at which, in Syberberg's version, the unstaunchable wound of Amfortas figuratively drips blood. His is not a Parsifal film; the best that can be said is that it is a film version of the opera.

In the images of the prelude there are diffident signs of an attempt at originality, but immediately and at full length they are followed by an old-fashioned photo album sequence of pictures.

All that Syberberg showed was that he is capable of directing on the stage this particular version of the opera; maybe that was all he wanted to show.

He did not even do so in the distinctive way in which he is otherwise given to expressing himself on the subject of Wagner.

He filmed his way along the full score, even making his actors exaggeratedly mime opera-singers' facial acrobatics.

It was a sad waste of the talent of Edith Clever, in the part of Kundry, for her to spend hours miming the soundtrack of Yvonne Minton's voice.

The height of unnaturalness was reached when, in the two-part role of Parsifal, a gorgeous boy (*Michael Hutter*) and a delicate girl (*Karin Krick*) were both made to mime Rainer Goldberg's heroic tenor.

Syberberg here destroys any unity of human image, identity of work and reproduction, without making the slightest gain in cinematographical perspective.

In media terms the opulent screen hybrid is a tense and rigid act of worship and fails to break new ground for Wagner.

Igor Luther, the cameraman, noncommitally and without a clearly apparent intellectual concept wends his way round the operatic property box.

He does so in a basically unimaginative manner, with abrupt and at times dilettante cutting, treating his operatic subject matter as though it were an antique shop revamped as a boutique.

To make it easier to pore comfortably over the fairy-tale picture book the music is played by an orchestra from Monte Carlo, with the conductor even singing the part of Amfortas.

It is all outmoded nostalgia set against a petrified, pompous background, a waxworks too silly to be taken seriously and too lacking in wit to be classified as a satyric play.

In comparison with the Bayreuth festival, the workshop of Wagner's grandson Wolfgang, it stands not the slightest chance of attaining anything like the same artistic level.

As a musician Syberberg may be a virtuoso at sounding his own praises and an accomplished performer in the context of publicity.

But as a director he has signally failed to emulate Parsifal's legendary progress from a simpleton to a king of the Holy Grail when it comes to directing Wagner.

Fritz Schleicher

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 28 July 1982)

■ THE ARTS

A backward glance at futurism

The futurists heralded the future, even visualising it in advance, but they looked back at what was transient and on the way out too.

Past masters at manifestoes and, in many cases, fine craftsmen in traditional techniques, they opposed with puberal energy everything tht could lay claim to hallowed tradition.

"We have given up regarding word composition and pronunciation in terms of grammatical rules," the Russian futurists wrote in their 1913 manifesto.

"Throw Pushkin, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy and so on overboard from the steamer of the present," they had proclaimed a year earlier.

"Young Italian composers," Balilla Pratella wrote in 1911, "desert from the conservatories and academies once and for all to study and compose in absolute freedom!"

"Beethoven and Wagner have for decades pleasantly shaken our hearts," claimed Luigi Russolo in 1913, "now we have had enough of them."

F. T. Marinetti and others wrote in 1915: "We are going to establish futuristic theatre, synthetically and thus in brief. In a few minutes, words and gestures a myriad situations, sensations, ideas, perceptions, evnts and symbols will be condensed."

Proclamations such as these were made all over Europe even by people who laid no claim to the label of futurism, and no-one seemed sure where it was all supposed to lead.

It was a contradiction marked by a tremendous revolutionary potential and was capable of leading to both communism and fascism.

But in one respect the futurists were a failure. They were unable to ensure the growth and continued effect of their movement. They were overtaken by events and forgotten.

They may well now be rediscovered, like Charles Ives and Erik Satie before them, because younger artists, without having been influenced by them, are heading in similar directions.

The missing link may in part have been provided by a course at Cologne University given by composer Juan Allende-Blin at the invitation of Mauricio Kagel.

The knowledgable visiting lecturer spent an entire semester outlining to the New Musical Theatre class how the past and the future were intermingled in the futurists' work.

He analysed texts, plays and compositions and prompted performances. They were held on two consecutive evenings and held an unexpectedly large audience in suspense.

They looked back at the past of the future and made the audience stop and think about futurism in the present.

The Present of Futurism was the title of a collection of poems, scenes and compositions from Russia, Italy and Germany and performed to highlight a point in time.

The work featured was written mainly in the decade and a half between 1909 and 1924. It consisted of glimpses the extreme brevity of which was intended as provocative condensation and not, as in Webern's case, as concentration.

Works passed freely from one genre to another; sound poems, noise ballets, negative plays, provocative in their nothingness, grotesques and hymns, old sounds with new pathos, and also premonitions of the future.

Ivan Vyshnegradsky's name was mentioned. He was as enthusiastic about the revolutionary *Evangile rouge*, or Red Gospel, of 1918 as he was about the idea of enharmonics.

Enharmonics, or music constructed on a scale containing intervals of less than a semitone, dated back to the Ancient Greeks. Like them, the futurists viewed it as an enrichment of music via micro-intervals.

In Vyshnegradsky's case the result was surprisingly disjointed. The declamatory pathos of his songs called Mussorgsky to mind, while the piano accompaniment was traditional in its overall characteristics too.

The only "futuristic" note he sounded was by introducing a second instrument tuned a quarter-tone lower.

In the same programme at Cologne, played alongside the Red Gospel, was Antonio Russolo's Futuristic Hymn, which conveyed no idea of new musical techniques but gave a clear idea of the fascist potential of Italian futurism.

Mussolini was to appreciate and benefit from this potential.

Vyelimir Khlebnikov's sound poems sound a little more futuristic in the wider sense and have much in common with the techniques of dadaism.

Eugene Dubnov, who lives in England, devotedly made the most of their musical and theatrical elements and went on to recite a number of Mayakovsky poems that provocatively set aside the laws of logic.

In Vyshnegradsky's case it may be recalled that his process of microtonal subdivision was rediscovered, leading to a fresh debate about the technique, shortly before he died in Paris.

Khlebnikov's poems called to mind related techniques among contemporary composers and poets.

The power of negation and its creative potential were most vividly apparent, it seemed, in the brief and often grotesque theatrical scenes.

There were the truly "speaking" gestures of the hand in *Les Mains*, 1915, by F. T. Marinetti and Bruno Corra.

There was the strikingly impressive portrayal of everyday emotional states in Marinetti's Undecided, 1924, or angelo Rognoni's Tiredness, 1915.

There was the tellingly absurd wit of *Acte négatif*, 1915, by Corra and Settimelli, in which after several repetitions of confused expletives such as "Impossible!" and "Incredible!" a man, played by Mauricio Kagel, walked on the stage and toward the audience.

"I have nothing to say to you," he announced. Even now it sounds fresh and surprising, even though it may have made very little mark on the history of the stage.

A truly futuristic trait inasmuch as it was to have a future, and one with which music-lovers will be much more familiar, is the inclination of Italian futurists in particular, especially Luigi Russolo, to refine the music of the future from noises.

Plans of this kind testified both to the pathos of the industrial revolution and to an altogether romantic feeling for the sounds of nature.

Industrial sounds were, of course, the best way of lodging an objection to the traditional.

In his *Ballet mécanique futuriste*, 1922, Ivo Panaggi has a cubist doll and a female dancer move to the sound of two motorcycles resounding closer to and further away from the stage.

Marinetti in his noise poem *Marcia Futuristica* of 1915 worked with both aggressive and comical sounds shared, by Yuval Shaked in his Cologne production, between three speakers.

It was in this sector in particula[...] the futurists prompted and anticip[...] developments in, say, Georges An[...] and Edgard Varese.

The most surprising instance is pr[...] ded by by Marinetti's Radiophonic S[...] theses, published in 1939 but prob[...] composed much earlier.

They have been transposed into s[...] reophonic reality for Westdeuts[...] Rundfunk by Juan Allende-Blin.

They not only anticipated the m[...] collages of musique concrète and ca[...] for techniques using several chan[...] they also, in their use of pauses, fo[...] stance, were forerunners of a conte[...] porary aesthetics.

It is an approach that is very much [...] the present in being espoused by co[...] posers such as Cage and Ka[...] Allende-Blin and Schnebel.

Much the same may be said of [...] music of Yefim Golyshev, who lived [...] exile in Berlin and had much in com[...] mon with both twelve-tone music a[...] dada.

Or take Fortunato Depero's Colo[...] 1916, a composition that straddles t[...] border between acoustical and opt[...] art. Vocal action triggers movements [...] geometrical coloured objects.

Last but not least, let mention [...] made of Hans-Jürgen von der Wense[...] Music for Clarinet, Piano and Fr[...] Handed Metal (what he had in mi[...] was a kitchen sieve to be played on w[...] a pointed knife).

In Cologne the drum of a washi[...] machine was used instead. Von d[...] Wense, a friend of Eduard Erdmann[...] was long forgotten when he died in 196[...]

He was the only German who co[...] ted himself as a futurist. In 1919 h[...] composed a "futurist grotesque" on I[...] *hatt' einen Kameraden*, a roman[...] poem by Heinrich Heine.

It was a wild play, performed in Co[...] logne (as were his expressive 1916 pi[...] no pieces) by Ingo Metzmacher.

It was a composition that showed fu[...] turism contained the seeds not only o[...] revolutionary ferment but also of hom[...] over collapse presaged or experienced[...]

Klaus Kirchberg

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 July 1[...])

Week dancers have been waiting for

The Choreography Competition and the Week of Modern Dancing are how Cologne's International Summer Academy of Dance seeks every year to attract public attention.

For 26 years hundreds of professional dancers have come from Europe and overseas to attend summer training courses in the cathedral city.

Most come from provincial ballet. At least once a year they like to come out and make contact for a fortnight with a greater, wider world of ballet.

Heinz Laurenzen, director of the Academy, gives them what they want and what will help them.

Three dozen courses in classical and modern dancing technique, folklore and historical dancing were given this year by 27 instructors from the United States, the Soviet Union and Europe.

The educational scope and effect of the Summer Academy is undisputed, but the artistic outcome of the framework programme seems to grow steadily more limited.

The Choreography Competition has been on its last legs for years. Envisaged as a forum and incentive for young choreographers, it has sunk to the level of a playground for dilettante workmanship.

Yet the bid is repeated year after year. Four dozen works were entered this year by competitors from a wide range of countries; 27 were performed.

The eight members of the jury were high-grade experts. They included Doris Rudko of the Juilliard School, New York, and the chairman of Unesco's International Dancing Council.

They patiently sat through the entries for two evenings and could, in theory, have decided not to make any awards. In the end they decided against this option.

A first prize, worth DM4,500, was awarded to Maryse Delente from Lyons, France, and a second prize, worth DM2,000, to Heide Tegeder from Cologne.

The second prize was for two finger exercises that at least in terms of workmanship met the minimum requirements of choreography.

The competition, held for the 13th time this summer, really may have become superfluous. For the host country, Germany, it has certainly lost any importance it may have had.

In the Federal Republic of Germany the heads of ballet companies have said that encouraging young choreographers is an express part of their programme.

In the Choreography Competit[...] artistic potential was in short supply [...] the Week of Modern Dancing cash[...] the problem. The only company [...] was available for a guest perform[...] was the Australian Dance Theatre, fr[...] Adelaide, which was on tour in Europ[...]

Its hallmark is the work of direc[...] Jonathan Taylor, who skilfully va[...] contemporary choreographical mate[...] yet has no compunction in boring [...] audience with a full evening's perfo[...] mance of vacuous formal ballet.

As he did so, outstanding individ[...] members of his company danced th[...] way toward physical exhaustion.

Yet there were two highlights of [...] ballet week nonetheless: *Ballets J[...] '32* and a final programme to mark [...] 50th birthday of Dutch choreograp[...] Hans van Manen.

In the first show the Cologne D[...] Forum performed four works in me[...] ry of Kurt Jooss, whose ballet of so[...] criticism kept alive in emigration [...] memory of another Germany.

Dancers from Amsterdam, Colo[...] and Essen performed four van Ma[...] ballets composed between 1968 a[...] 1981. They showed in swift success[...] to an international public the stages [...] development of one of the most impo[...] tant contemporary choreographers.

Albin Hänsero[...]

(Die Welt, 19 July 19[...])

■ MEDICINE

Illness that stops people talking, reading, writing



About 40,000 people in the Federal Republic of Germany have a disturbance known as aphasia which damages their powers of communication.

The victims find it difficult to express themselves or understand others either in writing or orally.

They are seldom entirely mute, and the affliction does not wipe out their past experience. The problem is one of communication, not of thought.

Aphasia is triggered by accidents involving brain injury and by a virus infection of the brain. Eighty-five per cent of the victims have had strokes.

A team headed by Aachen brain doctor Klaus Poeck has been doing pioneering work into the subject. The group includes linguists, psychologists and speech instructors.

Unlike people suffering from speech defects from birth, which affect their entire linguistic development, aphasiacs have fully understood the world and what is going on around them.

Their ability to speak is merely impeded. The fear of making fools of themselves may further handicap them.

There are about 40,000 aphasiacs in Germany with 7,500 newcomers per year. Given stroke and brain damage statistics, there are likely to be more.

Age groups vary widely. Thirty- to 40-year-olds with risk factors such as diabetes, high blood pressure and overweight are liable to have a stroke. Brain damage as a result of an accident can occur among ever younger victims, and it is thought that many cases go unnoticed.

This is partly because they do not have to be reported and partly because aphasia is not always diagnosed.

When someone suddenly departs from standard speech, is at a loss for the right word and continually hits on wrong ones, when he loses direction in incomprehensible syntax the layman may tend to feel his mind must be wandering.

Old people with the disease are often said to be confused. Young people may be felt to be suffering from a psychosis.

A neurologist must be consulted. Computer tomography, a kind of X-ray process, can find functional upsets in the speech centre, which is mainly on the left-hand side of the brain.

The patient will then be given an aphasia test to determine what kind of disturbance he is suffering from and how serious it is.

The test developed by Professor Poeck and his associates is said to be the best in the German-speaking world.

A Dutch version of the test has been compiled. It allows interesting comparisons between the two language areas. French and English versions are to follow.

Aphasia research used to be purely theoretical brain research. The Aachen work makes it possible to devise treatment for the individual patient.

The research project is backed by the Scientific Research Association.

While medical treatment continues to deal with what has triggered the complaint, say the stroke, treatment to deal with the upset in the brain's speech centre is prescribed.

It consists of speech exercises to be practised twice a day for up to an hour.

Attempts are made to reactivate surrounding parts of the speech centre or to train them to take over the work that used to be carried out by the damaged parts.

So the work of the brain has to be reorganised. A similar procedure is followed when a limb is temporarily or permanently paralysed.

It is much less common knowledge that by constant training speech defects can also be remedied satisfactorily in this way.

After a stroke most patients are left to their own devices, especially the older ones. The Aachen scientists have sought to treat as many as possible, regardless of age.

Even serious upsets need not be dismissed as hopeless. But treatment is costly and the capacity of the Aachen centre is limited.

Once the research unit has moved into the medical faculty's new quarters the team hopes to be able to help 200 new patients a year withut neglecting existing ones. Interestingly enough, aphasia patients who are given intensive treatment seem not to have severe depression despite their handicap and the isolation it causes.

Ingrid Zahn

(Die Welt, 24 July 1982)

Keeping an eye out for children who might go blind

Nürnberger Nachrichten

Nine times out of ten an eye doctor knows what is wrong as soon as he looks into the patient's eyes.

What happens in the tenth case is the field of Eberhardt Dodt, of the Max Planck Institute in Bad Nauheim, near Frankfurt.

He is developing a specialised technique which he hopes will eventually help many people, particularly children. Every year 20,000 children are born with an eye defect which can escape normal examination but which can lead to blindness.

Dodt's method is called visually-evoked cortical potential.

It stands for minute electric impulses registered by electrodes fixed to the back of the patient's head.

They occur whenever light falls on the retina. Cells run over the image produced by the lens and convert it into the signals that can be processed by the nerve cells.

This information gleaned from the retina is relayed to the brain, where it is processed by the cortex, which is where what we regard as vision occurs, not in the eye.

In principle one only needs to measure electric current in the brain to be able to make inferences as to the functioning of the eye.

If characteristic current patterns fail to occur or are changed in some way or other there must be some defect. But in practice it is not so easy.

The electric current used to relay information from the eye to the cortex is so weak that electrocardiogram impulses are 1,000 times more powerful.

Besides, this current is overlaid by other impulses sent round the brain, making it impossible to take precise individual measurements.

Professor Dodt uses a computer that stores sequences of individual reading and quickly works out averages.

Disturbances are offset or reduced and typical curves can be read off. Yet the technique is so complicated that it is not yet suitable for regular hospital use.

For patients to supply enough readings they have to sit at a TV screen for half an hour or longer gazing at a chessboard pattern, looking at two flickering lights or exposing their eyes to flashes of light.

Even so, the Bad Nauheim specialists have been able to help many patients. They examine 200 patients a year who are referred to them by opticians unable to arrive at a diagnosis.

At times they come up with surprising results. On one occasion a schoolgirl had to admit she was merely pretending to have poor eyesight to excuse her poor performance at school.

But this is the exception. Professor Dodt would like to see babies regularly examined in this way.

Babies suffer from a special problem that opticians cannot identify merely by looking in their eyes with a mirror.

Four per cent of babies born in the Federal Republic of Germany, or about 20,000 a year, are unable to see three-dimensionally using both eyes.

If their difficulty were diagnosed in time the complaint could be dealt with. It is due either to a slight defect of one eye or to differences in axis length.

The two images the eyes relay to the retina then no longer match, with the result that the central nervous system suppresses one of them.

But if the eyes are not trained regularly, vision will fail irreparably by the age of seven.

If the complaint is identified before the child is three, it can be cured. The same goes for children born with dim eye lenses.

Professor Dodt is critical that so little money is invested in research that would be of such importance to 20,000 babies a year.

He is also critical of colleagues who are reluctant to use of his method of diagnosis.

"Many doctors went in for medicine because they were no good at maths," he claims. "When they hear any mention of things electrical they turn a deaf ear."

Dieter Schwab

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 27 July 1982)

Contraception through sperm rejection

Frankfurter Rundschau

Kiel University gynaecologists are experimenting with an immunological method of contraception. They are trying to prompt immune responses between sperm and ovum.

In response to female antibodies, says Professor Liselotte Mettler of the university's maternity clinic, male sperm are to be made to "stick together" and make fertilisation impossible.

The immune response is something many may have heard of in connection with, say, heart transplants. Cells and tissue may reject foreign bodies as intruders.

This response is evidently suppressed in fertilisation. Female patients unable to have children for reasons unknown have been found to have ovum cells that react allergically to sperm cells.

Professor Mettler says she and her colleagues have succeeded in isolating the sperm antigen, which retains its effect in the test-tube.

Female rats that had been given an injection of these antigens were found to become pregnant less often than others. The Kiel research scientists feel this proves they have made a step in the right direction.

dpa

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 July 1982)

The spotty felt tip pen disease

Red felt-tipped pens can give you acne, say Göttingen dermatologists Dr Franz, Dr Berger and Professor Ippen. The red dye is to blame.

A typical case was that of a six-year-old girl who developed the usual symptoms of acne on both cheeks over a three-week period.

But there were no signs of incipient puberty such as might be expected to cause pimples and the like.

The girl was found to have painted her cheeks red with a felt-tipped pen on several occasions. Experiments with laboratory animals proved the red dye was responsible.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 July 1982)

Stuffing it in and falling ill

Germans eat up to two thirds more than they need, say vegetarians. They eat four times as much meat as 100 years ago.

At an international congress in Neu-Ulm they said there was a clear link between growing prosperity and overeating and the increase in obesity, diabetes, heart attacks and cancer.

When food was in shorter supply these complaints had been less widespread.

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 28 July 1982)

■ YOUTH

More and more school leavers chase fewer and fewer apprenticeships

DIE ZEIT

Exactly how many apprenticeship seekers will be unplaced this year will not be known until December. By then the damage will have been done.

Projections indicate that the dwindling supply of places will leave a lot of youngsters on the street.

Nobody should be surprised when the statistics are released. Bonn Education Minister Björn Engholm has been warning everybody since the New Year. He used the word catastrophe to describe the potential situation of school leavers.

Reminders and requests by the government, by the trade unions and by organisations of one kind or another have had little or no effect.

The Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg notes in its latest interim report that between October 1981 and the end of June 1982 eight per cent fewer apprenticeships were registered with labour exchanges than in the corresponding period the year before.

Yet the number of apprenticeship-seekers was 16 per cent up on the previous year's figure, so the prospects looked anything but encouraging.

A survey by the Ifo economic research institute, Munich, comes up with even gloomier findings. Fourteen thousand companies were polled in May and June on job training prospects.

This year they plan to hire 6.4 per cent fewer apprentices and trainees than in 1981.

Last year the number of apprenticeships on offer totalled 643,000. This year, according to the Bonn government's vocational training report, 660,000 youngsters will be trying for an apprenticeship, or over 30,000 more than a year ago.

Even if the companies do what they said they might in an emergency and take on an additional 47,000 youngsters, there will still be tens of thousands of school-leavers unable to find an apprenticehip.

Statistics can be misleading. Supply and demand cannot be equated with a stroke of the pen. There are regional differences.

What use is an apprenticeship in Regensburg, way down south in Bavaria, to a 16-year-old Hamburg girl?

Labour mobility is splendid, no doubt, but school-leavers can hardly be expected to travel the length and breadth of the country in search of a job.

There are parts of southern Germany where more apprenticeships seem to be available than there are youngsters around to take them up.

But in the north the number of apprenticeships on offer is well behind demand.

In the Hamburg area, for instance, there were about 2,000 apprenticeships available at the end of June but more than 2,700 applicants. The gap is expected to widen.

Regional differences are what most worry officials responsible, such as Norbert Krekeler of the Federal Vocational Training Institute, Berlin.

"There is no point in me appealing to industrial associations," he says. "They are only too well aware of the problem."

The only way to make headway is to take specific on-the-spot action: "Herr Meyer has to have a word with Herr Müller, who may then feel he might be able to take on another apprentice."

The last good year for school-leavers was 1980, when there were four per cent more apprenticeships than were needed.

But experts reckon that was because it was a general election year. "MPs went out of their way to arrange for extra apprenticeships in their constituencies. They could hardly engage in more effective electioneering."

This year SPD leader Willy Brandt has called on all 6,000 Social Democrats holding public office to help arrange for apprenticeships.

In mid-June the education and science working party of the SPD parliamentary party held a public hearing at which representatives of employers and unions, young people and the instructors who trained them were able to comment on the situation.

The business community is well aware of its responsibility for vocational training. A working party set up by the employers appealed last January to all companies and self-employed businessmen.

Regardless of the unfavourable economic situation they were called on to train fresh apprentices for every existing apprentice who completed his or her training.

But so far many firms seem to be hoping the others will set matters right. The Ifo survey indicates that all trades and industries plan to hire fewer apprentices this year.

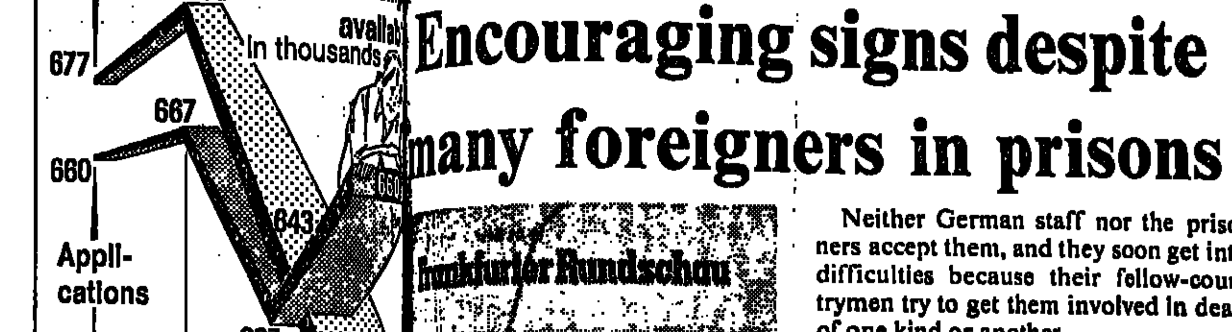
The cutback ranges from 13 per cent in retail and wholesale trade to four per cent among tradesmen such as plumbers, carpenters and electricians.

Firms with a payroll of more than 1,000 plan to take on 3.5 per cent more apprentices, while the small fry, with a payroll of up to four, are thinking in terms of an 18-per-cent growth rate.

Corporate arguments to account for this reluctance are the old story. Companies complain about the economic situation, about the increasing cost of training, about a shortage of suitable applicants and about legislative disincentives.

In 1980 the cost of vocational and in-service training totalled DM36bn, according to one economic research institute.

But that absolves no-one of responsibility. Bonn Labour Minister Heinz Westphal has just reminded all concerned of what is expected of them.



The business community, he ... had always regarded vocational tr... as its responsibility and was str... opposed to government regimentatio...

This summer would show wh... the existing system of job training ... equal to its responsibility. Either it ... ceeded in surmounting difficulties ... shortcomings by itself or it would ... tually prompt government interventio...

This is the last thing business... want to happen. Entrepreneurs, as ... pundit puts it, are not going to let ... one, either the trade unions or the ... elbow in on the scene.

In the past the have successfully ... fended their right to run vocatio... training their own way.

Statistics indicate that since 19... when the 60s baby boom started leav... school, the number of apprentices... has substantially increased.

But here too statistics can be misle... ing. According to the trade unions ... than 200,000 young people were unab... to find an apprenticeship last year.

This year they expect 330,000 to ... empty-handed, whereas the Bonn Ed... cation Ministry expects only 50,0... youngsters to be out in the cold by ... year's end.

Yet by any account between 20,0... and 30,000 school-leavers a year h... been unable to find an apprentices... since 1976.

This is due in part to special regio... problems. A further factor is that yo... people tend to apply for appren... ships in a handful of overrun trades.

In 1980 the Vocational Training In... tute found that 36 per cent of sch... leavers wanted to serve an appren... ship in a mere 10 of the 446 trad... which apprenticeships are offered.

They have since grown less cho... Last year only 31 per cent of appli... are said to have found an appren... ship in their favourite trade. Sixty... per cent had to make do with their ... cond or third choice.

Besides, next to no-one these d... succeeds in finding an apprenticeship ... the first attempt. Most youngsters ... with 20, 40 or even more refusal slips.

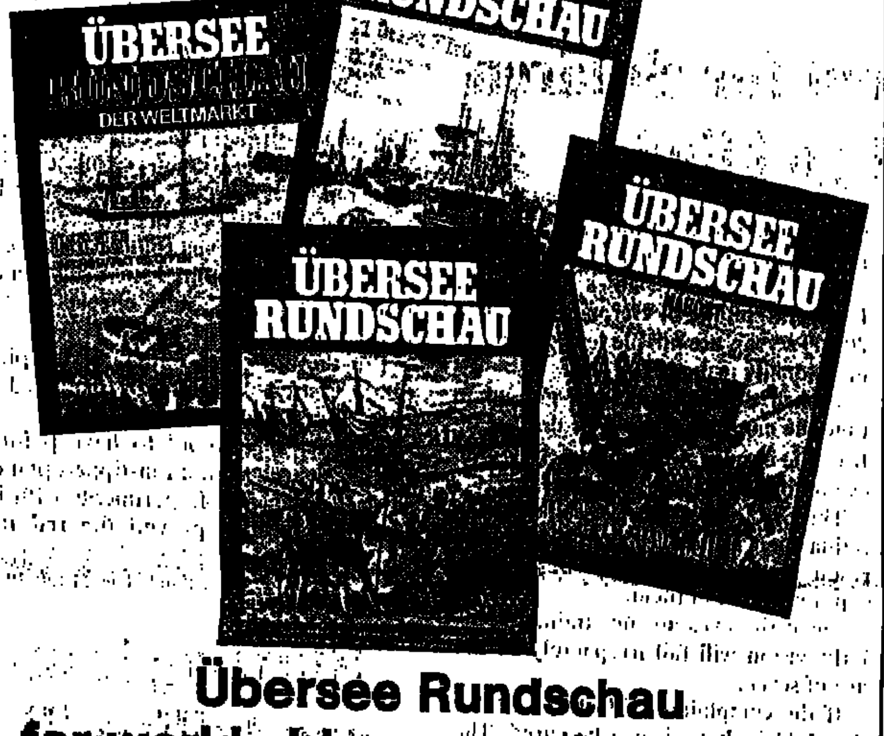
So their first encounters with ... world of work are frequently accom... nied by disappointment and frustra...

The trade unions have no doubt ... to why vocational training is in ... dire straits. Job training must no lo... be left to market forces, they say.

It must be made the subject of lo... term planning, with the labour force ... ing given a say in how it is run, wi... central vocational training fund and ... prenticeships being required to be ... trally registered.

A 1976 Act envisaged an appren... ship levy to be paid by employers ... did not train apprentices. Nothing ...

Continued on page 15



SOCIETY

Encouraging signs despite many foreigners in prisons

Frankfurter Rundschau

...he high number of foreigners in German prisons is a touchy issue ...ause it is likely to heighten prejudi...

...Hesse, 1,506 prisoners out of 5,224 ...foreigners in October 1981. That is ... per cent. In February 1981, the lat... figures available, 541 were Turks.

...some individual prisons, the pro...tion is higher: in Butzbach 35 per ... of the 700 prisoners are foreign. A ... of these, 90, are Turks.

...Schwalmstadt, 45 per cent, 123 of ..., are foreign; 64 are Turks.

For years the record has been held by ...ngesheim, Frankfurt, where 61 per ... are foreigners from 56 countries.

...land Kunze, a psychologist at ...enberg youth penitentiary, where ... are only 41 foreigners held out of ... total of 260, believes that prejudice ...inst foreigners is lessened in prisons.

He says this is because many prisoners come into close contact with foreigners for the first time in their lives.

Problems with foreign inmates are bound to arise, although Karl-Heinrich ..., governor of Butzbach, does not ... have made matters worse.

...reign prisoners, he says, have not ... the day-to-day running of prisons ... difficult. It has merely changed.

More than half the Turks in Hesse ...ons last year were serving sentences, ... long ones, for narcotics offences. ...on officials say about half of them ... spent up to 10 years in Germany ... the offence.

The others were tourists who visited ... country illegally to find work and ..., mostly, fell foul of criminal ...-countrymen. The tourist Turks ... often unable to read or write. In ... they were hard hit by their inability to communicate with others. The ... Turks were not always good at ...man either.

About half the Turkish inmates at ...bach were completely unable to ... themselves understood. A quarter ... understand a little German but ... not speak any.

Only three of the 90 Turkish prisoners at Butzbach can speak German ...ly, says Herr Schäfer.

...prison on remand they don't do ... talking in any case, says Ernst ...per, Governor of Preungesheim. ... use broken German or rely on ... prisoners who speak the language.

...most serious difficulties arise, ac...ding to the Hesse Justice Ministry, ... medical care.

...ison governors say inability to ... German is the basic reason for ... problems. It is almost impossible ... prisoners who can't speak German ... part in lessons or training pro...mes.

...isure activities and communication ... other prisoners are reduced.

...e Ministry has unsuccessfully tried ...roduce prison staff from the coun... in question.

Neither German staff nor the prisoners accept them, and they soon get into difficulties because their fellow-countrymen try to get them involved in deals of one kind or another.

So in several jails prison officers have started to learn Turkish. They take three-month crash courses. But not all succeed.

In Schwalmstadt 14 members of staff enrolled for Turkish courses. Seven have abandoned the attempt. It was too difficult.

What prison governors and staff have to say about Turkish prisoners may come as a surprise to many Germans.

"The Turks," says Klüsener, "are the least troublesome of foreign prisoners, unlike, say, the Israelis or Yugoslavs." They are very cooperative and help each other.

"The Turks," says Schwalmstadt's Klaus Winchenbach, "are as a rule extremely hard workers." They are often more popular than German inmates with the staff because they are clean and orderly.

"The Turks," says Heidemarie Müller-Bublick, psychologist and deputy governor at Rockenberg jail, "usually behave extremely quietly and agreeably."

They are so keen to learn. She has a feeling they are more ready to knuckle under to authority than Germans.

Josef Rüssmann, Roman Catholic chaplain at Rockenberg, feels differences may be attributed to family circumstances.

Most young Germans come from broken homes. Turkish inmates come as a rule from families that are still very much intact.

For Turks the family is very important. All governors are agreed that Turks are visited more frequently by members of their family than German prisoners.

Trouble only occurs as a rule when members of the family are insulted, such as insinuations that a Turkish prisoner's wife is going with another man.

Klüsener mentions a feature that is arguably more indicative of the difficulties various generations encounter with integration.

Older Turkish prisoners, he says, frequently try to beat their wives or children because they have been told the children are going out with Germans or the wife has, say, been out to a German cinema.

Clashes with other prisoners, including Germans, are infrequent. There are said to be very few signs of xenophobia.

Frau Müller-Bublick says the Turks do, however, tend to be the underdogs at German goals, while Fr Rüssmann refers to a mutual, tacit demarcation.

There are, of course, occasional complaints by German prisoners about the weird music the Turks play at full volume. Germans can also be upset when Turkish prisoners get jobs as trusties.

But open conflict and open hostilities have yet to come to light anywhere. "Jail," says Herr Wichenbach, "is a great leveller."

There is prejudice not far beneath the surface among all concerned, Fr Rüssmann warns. He gives trainee warders instruction and they ask him why he allows young Turks to attend his services.

The Turks themselves do not complain of xenophobia in prison. "We are treated the same as anyone else," says a prisoner who has lived in Germany for 20 years and is serving a long sentence for a narcotics offence.

Among prisoners the attitude toward foreigners is much the same as it is outside. "It depends how old they are." But trouble only arises with day-to-day details.



Foreigners behind bars: what does the future hold? (Photo: Glaser)

Turks serving prison sentences in Germany still account for a mountain of problems that have yet to be solved.

Apart from their daily work there is very little for them to do. Turkish newspapers are available daily, and a Schwalmstadt prisoner says there are about 30 Turkish books in the prison library.

But what about the many prisoners who are illiterate? There is nothing for them to do. TV is not much help. Prison officials have unsuccessfully applied for Turkish films.

Turks outside, such as the Turkish consulate-general or Turkish community associations, do little for those in jail.

Occasionally they arrange prison visits. Lessons may be arranged, given by a Turkish teacher, but even that can lead to problems.

Teaching service

A Turkish language course for Turks at Rockenberg was quickly scrapped when the prison authorities discovered that the teacher was supplying students with right-wing extremist newspapers.

This, say the Rockenberg psychologists and the chaplain, is a dilemma. Vetting is difficult because of the language problem.

So despite many efforts to help the Turks in German prisons the prospects look none too good. At Schwalmstadt one instructor runs a leisure group for about 40 once a week.

At Rockenberg Fr Rüssmann occasionally holds Turkish festivities. At Butzbach sport is the greatest help with integration.

Yet the Turks themselves seldom complain, and when they do it is only in moderation. Now and then there are complaints about the Mohammedan food (pork-free).

There are also complaints about prisons being overcrowded or complaints about individual members of staff. "But by and large we have no cause to complain," one Turkish prisoner says.

So despite the many shortcomings of day-to-day prison routine, most Turkish prisoners accept their treatment. What upsets them is something entirely different, the fear of what will happen when they are released.

Karl-Heinz Krumm

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 July 1982)

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so far come of the proposal but the unions are still strongly in favour of it.

By the terms of the Act the state would be empowered, in the event of too few apprenticeships being made available, to raise a levy of a quarter per cent of the wage bill of large companies.

Bonn has not seen fit to do so, and by all accounts everyone is happy the idea has been quietly shelved. The cash that could have been raised in this way would have been nowhere near enough to finance the number of apprenticeships needed.

In retrospect the mere threat seems to have been useful and effective. But a new Act that came into force at the beginning of this year has dispensed even with the threat.

Family Affairs Minister Anke Fuchs and Education Minister Björn Engholm may resurrect it from time to time but no-one seriously expects the levy actually to be raised.

Politically, it is generally realised, the vocational training levy is a no-hoper.

So we can but live in hope: in hope, for instance, that companies will show sufficient responsibility to provide enough apprenticeships to go round.

After all, from the mid-80s the number of school-leavers will decline drastically. The economy will then face a shortage of a commodity of which it currently has a glut: young people keen to learn a trade.

Erika Martens

(Die Zeit, 30 July 1982)